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TORCHLIGHTS TO THE CHEROKEES

The Brainerd Mission

By ROBERT SPARKS WALKER

Here is the story of the Brainerd Mission to the Cherokee Indians, founded in 1816 and broken up when the Cherokees were forced to give up their vast land holdings and migrate westwards. The Mission was staffed by New Englanders, conducted by the Board of Foreign Missions, aided by the government and private subscriptions, and visited by President Monroe. In its twenty years of existence the Mission set the Cherokees well on the road to becoming an agricultural people, responsive to religious and secular instruction. When a law was passed forbidding whites to live on Cherokee lands without license from the Government, the Mission leaders, not supposing the law applied to them, were arrested, and served two years' imprisonment. After the Indians had gone the State divided their land by lottery.

The author has made full use of original letters and documents, many of which he has embodied in his text. He has written a new chapter in the history of Tennessee and Georgia.

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The author of this book, Robert Sparks Walker, was himself born (1878) within two miles of the old Brainerd Mission, near Chickamauga, Tennessee. He was educated in the public schools of Tennessee, at Maryville College, and at the University of Chattanooga.

His two chief interests, nature and literature, he has combined in his offices as editor of the *Southern Fruit Grower*, a horticultural magazine, as president of The Fruit Grower Publishing Company, and as editor of the Nature Department of the *Flower Grower*. His liking for the out-of-doors has led him to organize, within the last year, forty units of the Chattanooga Hiking Clubs, and one is not surprised to learn that he is the naturalist for the Chattanooga Division of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts of America.

During the last ten years he has done much writing, both free-lance magazine writing and books. His literary works include essays, nature studies, poetry, sketches, and history.

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TORCHLIGHTS TO THE CHEROKEES

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TORCHLIGHTS TO THE CHEROKEES

THE BRAINERD MISSION

BY

ROBERT SPARKS WALKER

NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1931

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SET UP BY BROWN BROTHERS LINOTYPERS
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TO

THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND

SHERMAN SANDERS

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

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FOREWORD

On that part of the Lee Highway known as the Brainerd Road, almost touching the eastern limits of the city of Chattanooga, are to be seen two great Spanish oaks, the last survivors of an original row of six trees of the same species. These two trees stand out as mute but living relics that mark the site of what was the Government's first attempt to teach the science of agriculture, a few trades, and domestic arts to American aborigines.

The two Spanish oaks have attracted much attention, not because they were left more than a hundred years ago by the missionaries at Brainerd, but because their crowns hold myriads of horned oak galls. In sight of these trees, a few rods to the east, is found the first well that was dug in this part of the Cherokee country. A little farther to the east, is found a long depression of what was once a mill race that diverted the water from Spring Creek into the Chickamauga, furnishing power to operate a sawmill until a dam and mill were established near-by on the Chickamauga. The banks of the Chickamauga contain piles of stones which once formed the foundation of the grist mill that was built by the missionaries. This mill was operated during the Civil War by the Government under the name "Missionary Mills." South of the mill site is an acre or more of wooded land in which repose the bones of many Chero-

kees, native white people, missionaries and their children. Less than a dozen of the stones are lettered, but the weatherworn native rocks stand as solemn evidence of the unknown heroes and heroines who died as martyrs to their faith at this institution.

The meadows and the woodlands near-by and the banks of the peaceful Chickamauga are festooned with wild grapes, trumpet vines, greenbriers and other pendant plants, while wild flowers blaze pink and white and blue beneath summer suns.

Here is the site of the Brainerd Mission, once internationally known, but later on passed into oblivion. Now, of a sudden, the splendor of the unselfish lives of its ministers and teachers, blazes forth as an eternal tribute to those people who forsook comfortable homes and lives of ease that the Cherokee might be educated and Christianized.

Three miles up the Chickamauga from the mission, I was born, and as a boy I frequently rode horseback to the old mill, with a bag of corn to be ground into meal. The place was then known as Bird's Mill. The highway that led to it, and beyond it as far as Missionary Ridge, was called Bird's Mill Road.

During the years that I lived in that locality, I never once heard the name Brainerd mentioned, so completely was the history of the old mission lost in the mists of the past.

In the year 1920, when the Tercentenary Celebration of the landing of the *Mayflower* was held in Massachusetts, by a mere accident, I was commissioned to make a search, and find, if possible, some evidence of the influence of the Pilgrims in the South. A few months pre-

vious I heard that an old mission was once maintained at Bird's Mill. In searching the pages of a copy of a *History of American Missions,* published in 1840, I found some interesting facts concerning the Brainerd Mission. There was quite enough to make my undertaking a success. That same year, I suggested to the members of the Pilgrim Men's Club, of which I was president, that we inaugurate memorial services on the site of the mission. This plan was carried out. A week after the first annual pilgrimage, one of the local newspapers published in full the historical address I gave there. This created a wide interest, and on April 4, 1921, upon the appeal of Mrs. Charles R. Hyde of the Chickamauga Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Hamilton County Court authorized the name Brainerd given to the road leading from Missionary Ridge eastward to the old mission site and as far beyond as Graysville, Georgia. The name Brainerd was also restored to the old mill, which was not torn down until the latter part of the year 1921. The territory from Missionary Ridge to the mission site is now known as Brainerd, and most of it lies within the corporate limits of the city of Chattanooga.

It was by mere accident that the change came about. Even the writing and the publication of this history was accidental. It happened in this manner: In the month of March, 1930, Robert Bruce Ross of Oklahoma, eighty-five-year-old grandson of Chief John Ross, founder of Chattanooga, made his first visit to that city. On a journey with him and some friends to New Echota, near Calhoun, Georgia, the site of the Cherokee's national capital east of the Mississippi, I mentioned to Senator Newell

Sanders, one of Chattanooga's foremost citizens, that I hoped one day to be able to write a full and complete history of the Brainerd Mission. That incidental remark, disclosing my ambition, brought from Senator Sanders a generous offer to bear the expense of the preparation of the manuscript and if necessary the publication of the history.

The latter part of June, 1930, found me in Cambridge, Massachusetts, examining the large bound volumes written at Brainerd Mission. These belong to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and are kept in the Harvard-Andover Theological Library. What a rare treat it was to hold in my own hands the original letters and records written in the old-fashioned, clear and distinct handwriting when letter writing was, indeed, a highly valued art, and almost a gift if not a profession! My reaction to that experience was the birth of a feeling that the Brainerd Mission was still in existence, and the men and women who had written the letters were still busily engaged in their noble undertaking. I felt that I might address a letter any day to any one of the missionaries and receive a prompt reply within a few days. The reading of those letters furnished me the greatest inspiration. I had the same feeling, too, that one senses when he reads of the extreme hardships, the persecutions, and the zeal that were experienced by the early Christian martyrs.

For the kindness of allowing me access to the old records and for other assistance rendered, I am indebted to Dr. Enoch F. Bell, Secretary of the American Board, and Miss Grace H. Knapp, Assistant Editor, the *Missionary Herald,* Boston; to Rev. Owen H. Gates, Librarian, Harvard-Andover Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Dr. Lewis H. Keller, formerly President

of the Atlanta Theological Seminary; Miss Leila V. Mason, Atlanta, Georgia, Judge Charles W. Lusk, Professor James E. Walker and Mrs. Abby C. Milton, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

R. S. W.

Triple Tree Tangle
Chattanooga, Tennessee
December 1, 1930

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TORCHLIGHTS TO THE CHEROKEES

CHAPTER I

THE CHEROKEE INDIANS

THE early explorers among the American Indians always left their country deeply impressed with the great importance of the Cherokees, and the first white settlers in the South Atlantic states soon learned that this was the most ambitious of the many Indian tribes in the United States. From the days of De Soto until the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi, the whites had seriously to reckon with the Cherokees.

As the Brainerd Mission was established for the express purpose of educating and Christianizing this Indian tribe, it is very essential that a brief account of the Cherokees be given here.

The old Cherokee country originally embraced about forty thousand square miles. Later on, it became a part of the States of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, and included the region of the Allegheny, extending from the Cumberland Mountains in the west, eastward as far as the Blue Ridge, and from a point a little north of Atlanta, Georgia, northwards to the head streams of the Kanawha River. The land thus covered by these boundaries embraced some of the richest soil, and by far the most beautiful natural scenery in the Eastern United States.

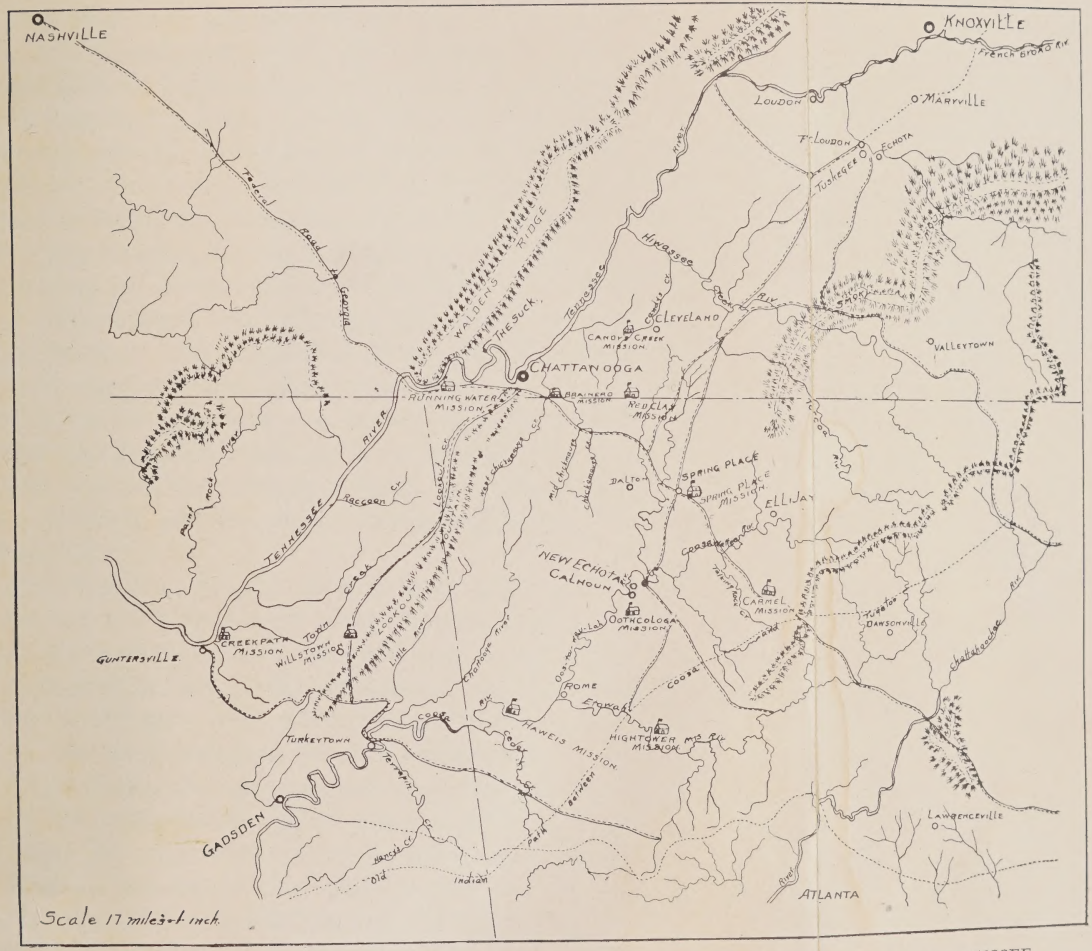
Echota, situated on the Little Tennessee River, not far above the point where the Tellico River empties into

it, was their national capital. As was the case with most of the Indian tribes, there was almost a continual dispute over their boundaries by contesting tribes. Moreover, the white settlers from the East and Northeast kept pressing down until the Cherokees were forced to move slowly southward.

The early travelers among the Cherokees were not long discovering that in spite of their ambitions, their greatest weakness was a lack of tribal cohesion. This unfortunate situation was brought about by the frequent division of the tribe against itself; and yet, the Cherokees, in common with the Caucasian race, had a high regard for their tribe, and were not too modest to proclaim themselves the "principal people" through the employment of the name Yunwiya when referring to the Cherokees.

There are many stories of a traditional nature covering the early days of the Cherokees, but their known history begins with the year 1540 when De Soto traveled among them.

From the very beginning of the white man's contact with the Indians, he conducted himself in such a manner that he incurred their hatred rather than their friendship. To compel an Indian by force or threat to furnish food will make him an enemy, while on the other hand to obtain it through friendliness will make him a loyal friend. It is little wonder that De Soto did not win the friendship of the Cherokees; for a member of the Spanish explorer's party who kept a record of its march inland, in describing the province of Chalaque, which was the territory of the Cherokees, says that De Soto demanded food of the Indians for his horses and men, and that in most instances his company received gifts



THE BRAINERD MISSION AND OTHER MISSIONS IN NEAR-BY PARTS OF TENNESSEE, ALABAMA, AND GEORGIA

of corn and turkeys, and that from certain Indian villages, a good supply of a species of edible dog, that could not bark, was furnished them.

The first records that have come to us of the Cherokee's meeting the English is in 1654 when, after the Virginia Colony had concluded a war with the Powhatans, they became greatly excited over the report of an advancing body of more than six hundred Rechahecrian Indians, the name by which the Cherokees were known to the Powhatans. The Virginia Colony was sick and tired of warfare, having but lately concluded a bloody war. However a battle ensued, and although the whites had the chief Pamunkey, with a hundred of his picked men on their side, most of their fighters were slain.

The oldest Cherokee treaty on record has been claimed by South Carolina of the year 1684, but in 1691, a record says that "some of the colonists without any proclamation of war, followed and murdered several members of the Cherokee tribe."

It has often been claimed by writers of Indian history that the whites violated every treaty they made with the Indians, while the Cherokee remained loyal to his agreement. An early account of the violation of such a promise is given in the year 1693 when a few Cherokee chiefs made a trip to Charleston, South Carolina, with some presents as tokens of friendship and sought the assistance of their white neighbors against the enemy tribes about them, who had sold some of the Cherokees into slavery. The promise was made that there would not be any grounds of complaint thereafter, but the agreement was broken by the whites, since Governor Moore of South Carolina in 1705 was accused of giving permission to several persons to assault and kill as many of the Chero-

kees as they could! This policy of unfaithfulness enraged the Indians against the British and spoiled the established trade, subsequently bringing on an Indian war with bloody results.

The first guns and ammunition were introduced among the Cherokees in the year 1700. Many of the events that took place between the English and the Cherokees were blamed directly on the white traders who for personal motives sought to excite the Indians to war, or else to abuse them in an intolerable manner. It seems that the ambition of the whites when dealing with the Cherokees, on the whole, was one of personal gain.

The first record of the Cherokees signing away any of their territory occurred in 1721 when Governor Nicholson of South Carolina invited a meeting of the Cherokee chiefs, representing thirty-seven towns, to make a trade treaty with them. The agreement included a cession of lands, and from that little beginning, the Cherokees kept giving away their property until in a little more than a century, they had signed away every acre of their once vast territory.

The Cherokee population varied several thousands at intervals during the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1735, it was given as about seventeen thousand, with six thousand warriors and sixty-four towns.

Then came the advance of the French in the South which created no little uneasiness among the British, since the former were gaining the favor of the Indian tribes in the territory as they moved northwards. The British believed that they could count on the Cherokees as their friendly allies, and yet they knew this tribe was not hostile to the French! From 1721 to 1763, the struggle between the French and British for territory was responsible for

all the Indian wars; for the poor Indians were simply used by these nations to further their own selfish aims and purposes.

To make certain that the French would not succeed in drawing the Cherokees to their side, in 1730, Sir Alexander Cuming met the chiefs at Nequassee where now stands the town of Franklin, North Carolina, and won them over to the British. As a result of that meeting seven of the chiefs were chosen to make a trip to England where at the palace of Whitehall, the treaty with the English was renewed. There the Indians foolishly acknowledged the sovereignty of England and pledged themselves and their trade to the British. They also promised to hold aloof from any kind of business or other friendly relations with any nation, except England. The Cherokees sealed their pledges by handing over four scalps, the tails of five eagles, and a "crown." For all that the Cherokees had subscribed themselves to do for the English, they received in return some red paint, guns and ammunition, and the promise of the perpetual love and friendship of the British!

Unfortunately, a pestilence of smallpox broke out in 1783 that reduced the population of the tribe one half. The Indians knew nothing about this disease, and many of them resorted to the ancient method of treating a violent disease by plunging into a cool stream of water. As late as the year 1918 when the influenza epidemic swept the United States, some of the Indians in the West resorted to the same fatal treatment. It seems strange that after a lapse of almost two centuries, this primitive method of treating a violent disease had not entirely died out.

In 1736 there came to the Cherokees a Jesuit by the name of Christian Priber acting for the French. He had a

bright mind and soon learned to speak the Cherokee language. Moreover, he adopted their manner of living and dress, and quite naturally, became a most influential man in their nation. Priber drew up a form of government for the Cherokees, following the old European plan. Great Tellico was selected as the national capital. Accordingly, the chief medicine man was made the emperor, and Priber, himself, was the ruler's secretary.

When this Jesuit began corresponding with the government of South Carolina, the British feared that he would align the Cherokees with the French. Immediately they made an attempt to put him under arrest. After a lapse of five years, while Priber was on his way to Fort Toulouse, he fell into the hands of the British who carried him to Frederica, Georgia, and imprisoned him. Priber died before being released.

After his death, evidence was discovered that proved him to be a high type of gentleman, refined and cultured. He was able to speak fluently, Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, English, and Cherokee. He had noble purposes and had he lived and the Cherokees heeded his instructions and yielded to his leadership and thought, he probably would have proved one of their most valuable counselors.

Up to this time, there had been no effort to Christianize the Cherokee Indians. Some people became very critical in their remarks on the situation. One writer said, "To the shame of the Christian name, no pains have ever been taken to convert them to Christianity; on the contrary, their morals are perverted by the sad example they daily have of its depraved professors residing in their towns."

The entire eighteenth century brought the Cherokees little peace, for it was a hundred years of dismal warfare

with their contentious Indian neighbors. In the Cherokee lands, the whites began to press slowly down upon them, forcing the Indians to move southward. In 1748, Dr. Thomas Walker heading a band of Virginia woodsmen and hunters, marched through the mountains in the southwestern part of that state, and came into what is now Tennessee. He discovered and named the famous Cumberland Gap, and traveled on to the Cumberland River. Dr. Walker made a second expedition two years later but on account of the hostility he met from the Indians, he made no attempt to effect a permanent settlement. This expedition aroused the suspicion of the Indians who quite naturally resented the bold invasion of their lands by the whites.

The seven years of struggle, known as the French and Indian War, between England and France, was in reality a war between France and England, and although it had its beginning in 1754, not until 1756 was war formally declared by the latter.

England at once saw that it would be to her advantage to bind the Cherokees as her trusted allies, and finally, she succeeded. Yet, it was known that the Cherokees felt rather kindly toward the French. As usual, the treaty carried with it the cession of certain tracts and by the agreement, the British bound themselves to construct some forts in the Cherokee country.

The year 1756 brought the establishment of three forts in the Cherokee lands in consequence of the treaty. One was known as Fort Dobbs, situated about twenty miles west of what is now Salisbury, North Carolina. A second, called Fort Prince George, on the headwaters of the Savannah River, near the Cherokee town of Keowee. The third was at Fort Loudon, in what is now East Tennessee

near the junction of the Tellico with the Little Tennessee.

However, after a big meeting of the Indians at Echota, before the completion of Fort Loudon, the Cherokees changed their minds and ordered the work stopped. Before the garrison arrived at the fort, it was officially informed by the Indians that they objected to so many white people coming into their country. Chief Ata-kulla-kulla, who had been a good friend of the English, joined the opponents of the project. The Cherokees were also in friendly connection with the French, and it required a very tactful policy on the part of the British to overcome the Indians' objections. The Cherokees then began to raise four hundred warriors as a part of their agreement.

After Fort Duquesne surrendered to Washington in 1759, by the peace treaty of 1763, the war closed, and Canada and the Ohio Valley were transferred to England. But the Indians were not fully satisfied with the results of the war.

Through very brutal assaults committed by the whites in which a number of Cherokees were scalped, the Indians were thrown into a war against the people whom they had assisted in winning the territory from France. When the Cherokees were ready to ask for peace, the Governor of South Carolina treated their peace chiefs most brutally, and declared war against the Cherokees in November, 1759. Under Colonel Montgomery, every one of the Lower towns of the Indians was burnt to the ground and farm crops were destroyed. Many of their leaders were slain. Similar depredations were kept up and in June, 1761, Colonel Grant laid waste to all of the Middle towns, and destroyed their growing crops and granaries.

The poor Cherokees were now practically reduced to starvation, and many of their boldest warriors were sleeping in their graves. Others were hiding in the mountains, half starved, and the scourge of smallpox was raging. This reduced their population so that they were unable to hold out any longer against the whites. Chief Ata-kulla-kulla, who had done everything in his power to maintain peace, went to Charleston and signed a treaty.

Like a mighty ocean wave, the tide of emigration moved over the mountains. Again the Cherokees were greatly aroused to a state of uneasiness. Their anxiety was kept agitated until the Revolutionary War, while they labored to build a permanent barrier between themselves and the whites. Each time a treaty was negotiated, the Cherokees lost a part of their territory. In 1775 by what is known as the Henderson Purchase, the Cherokees lost all their domain north of Tennessee, which cut them off from their happy hunting grounds in Kentucky. And there followed transaction after transaction, which were forced upon them, and which reduced their lands.

Finally, the white settlers of Wautauga in northeast Tennessee effected a temporary lease, and the Cherokees expected it to become permanent. It did, and became the noteworthy nucleus settlement of the State of Tennessee that was formed later on.

The men who entered the Cherokee lands for selfish gain without properly recompensing the Cherokees always brought out the hostile nature of the Indians. Men like William Bartram, the botanist, who made a journey through their lands, treated them kindly, and in return they displayed a true friendliness which the botanist mentions in his account. He was also impressed with their sincere hospitality to strangers. It is little wonder that at

the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1776 practically all the Indian tribes took sides against the Americans. The fact that the British traders had lived among them and some of them had intermarried with the Indians and brought up families, strengthened the ties between the Cherokees and the British. In that war, brutal treatment was practiced on both sides. The whites did not stop at burning Indian villages and destroying farm crops and every other possession, and they even scalped Indian warriors. Even Indian women were shot down and many that were captured were sold into slavery.

The Indian settlements from Virginia to the Chattahoochee River were completely destroyed, and in 1777, the Lower Cherokees surrendered all their territory in South Carolina except a small strip on the western limits. Sixty days afterwards, the Middle and Upper Cherokees signed away all their lands east of the Blue Ridge and the lands in the white settlements in Northeast Tennessee. Many of the Cherokees were dissatisfied with the treaties of peace which their nation had been forced to sign. Especially was this true with the Indians living in Tennessee. Among them was Chief Dragging-canoe, who boldly declared that he was ready to go to war against the people who had taken his hunting grounds. This declaration drew to his side the Cherokees' bravest warriors who left the Upper and Middle towns and settled on the Chickamauga Creek near Chattanooga.

In 1779, when a report reached the whites near Echota, that three hundred Indian warriors from Chickamauga were starting on a march of warfare northward against the border settlements of North Carolina, Colonel Evan Shelby and Colonel Montgomery were dispatched to the scene. They took the town of Chickamauga by surprise

and burnt it to the ground, together with the supplies of food that had been sent there by Governor Hamilton of Detroit. The southeastern end of this old Chickamauga town lay directly across Chickamauga Creek from the Brainerd Mission.

In the destruction of the Cherokee towns in 1781 by Colonel Arthur Campbell of Virginia and Colonel John Sevier of Tennessee, Echota, their national capital was burnt to the ground. In the summer of the same year, the Cherokees were so exhausted from the long warfare that they signed a treaty of peace, which came just in time to permit Tennessee to send some of her best soldiers to march against Cornwallis.

But this treaty did not put a stop to the invasion of the Cherokee lands by the whites. They kept coming until Chief Old Tassel of Echota, in the autumn of 1782, on behalf of his friendly people, forwarded a pathetic appeal to the Governor of Virginia and North Carolina complaining of the invasion of the Cherokee lands by white settlers. In the meanwhile, the Chickamaugas were still at war, and in September, 1782, John Sevier marched against them with two hundred mounted men and destroyed their towns and killed every warrior he could find on the Chickamauga Creek and as far as Calhoun, Georgia. At the close of the Revolutionary War, the Cherokees were left in a deplorable condition. Their once valiant old Chief Oconostota, their victorious leader in 1780, was broken in health and in spirit and he turned over his office at Echota to his greatly beloved son, The Terrapin.

On November 25, 1785, the Cherokees made their first treaty with the United States. This took place at Hopewell, South Carolina. The meeting continued for ten days

and almost a thousand Cherokees were in attendance. The treaty was signed by thirty-seven chiefs. Despite the Cherokees' complaint that three thousand white settlers had come in and taken possession of their lands between the French Broad and Holston rivers, they received no relief. By the treaty, the whites got all the Cherokee lands lying east of the Blue Ridge. The United States took the Cherokees under its protection.

The treaty, however, did not bring absolute peace, for white settlers continued to keep the Indians stirred up by moving upon their lands. The warfare waged by the Cherokees following the signing of the treaty aggravated the whites who continually persisted in moving onto their lands without authority. The only method the Indians had left them to drive the intruders back was by the use of their guns.

In 1790, President Washington reported that more than half a thousand families were living on lands that rightfully belonged to the Cherokees, exclusive of those who were living between the Holston and French Broad rivers. A year previous, the Secretary of War declared:

"The disgraceful violation of the treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees requires serious consideration of Congress. If so direct and manifest contempt of the authority of the United States be suffered with impunity, it will be in vain to attempt to extend the arm of government to frontiers. The Indian tribes can have no faith in such imbecile promises, and the lawless whites will ridicule a government which shall, on paper only, make Indian treaties and regulate Indian boundaries."

Accordingly, the Government issued a proclamation which undertook to forbid any further encroachment upon Indian lands on the Tennessee River. At least one crowd

of men in the early part of 1791 ignored the proclamation by descending the river in boats and erecting a blockhouse and other defensive works on an island at Muscle Shoals. The Cherokees did not wait for governmental interference, but the chief, The Glass, with sixty warriors took the matter into his own hands, descended upon the intruders and gave them notice to get out on the threatened penalty of death. The whites decided to quit the Cherokee lands, after which the Indians burnt the buildings.

After repeated battles with the whites about the close of the eighteenth century, the Cherokees were willing to take up the arts of civilization. With all their great losses of life, their population amounted to about twenty thousand and they were still in possession of considerable territory.

The Cherokees had been purchasing trinkets, clothing, knives, and other articles used by civilized man. Horses and other domestic animals, they had been keeping for many years. As evidence of their advancement in their manner of living, John Sevier and his army in 1793 killed three hundred beeves at Etowah that belonged to the Cherokees, and left them lying on the ground to decompose. Many Indian families had small orchards and were growing farm crops. The making of baskets and pottery furnished the Indian women their chief occupation.

The decision of the Cherokees in 1810 to abandon clan revenge was one of the most important movements that led them toward civilization.

In the Creek War, they had assisted the United States by furnishing General Andrew Jackson five hundred soldiers. At the battle of Horseshoe Bend, it is reliably claimed that Jackson and his forces would have been

completely routed had it not been for the help of the Cherokees. A few years later, Chief Junaluska of the Cherokees of Western North Carolina, declared, "If I had known that Jackson was going to drive us from our homes, I would have killed him that day at the Horseshoe!"

In the spring of 1816, a delegation, accompanied by Colonel Return J. Meigs, visited Washington and negotiated two treaties. By the first, the Cherokees accepted five thousand dollars for the cession of their last remaining territory in South Carolina. By the second, a boundary was established between the Creeks and the Cherokees in Alabama. In the fall of the same year, the Cherokee chiefs and Creeks met in general council at Turkeytown, near the present Center, Alabama, to settle further boundaries and to ratify a recently made treaty. It was at this meeting that the Brainerd Mission enters our story when General Andrew Jackson introduced Cyrus Kingsbury who had come to make a proposition to establish a mission and a school in the Cherokee country, which later on became known as Brainerd.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING OF THE CHICKAMAUGA MISSION

WHILE sincere and devout persons severely criticized leaders for making no attempt toward introducing the Christian religion among the Cherokees, it is doubtful that any movement in this direction prior to the year 1800 could have met with any great success.

The natural criterion by which one judges the efficacy of any religion is its visible effects on the character and behavior of its adherents. Many of the Indian's most brutal, selfish and thievish white neighbors claimed to be Christians. It was natural that the Cherokees should judge the value of this new religion by the character of the people who were steadily encroaching upon their property and many of whom had introduced whiskey into their tribes. To them, Christianity was something that they might do well to avoid. A most interesting example is that of Chief Yonaguska of the Cherokee Indian Reservation of Western North Carolina, who before permitting literature of any kind to be distributed among his tribe, required that it first be brought to him for examination. After the Bible had been translated into the Cherokee language by the missionaries, before Yonaguska would permit it to be introduced among his people, the old chief requested that it be brought to him and read. After listening earnestly to a portion of St. Matthew, the old chief dryly, but seriously remarked, "Well, it seems to be

a good book, but it is strange that the white people are not better after having had it so long!"

In 1810 there was formed in Bradford, Massachusetts, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first organized movement in America to Christianize the heathen of the world. Shortly after it had opened two missions in foreign countries, some of its friends and supporters in the United States and Europe expressed surprise that the Board was sending missionaries to distant India when it had thousands of heathen people near its door.

Accepting the critics' words more as a wholesome suggestion than as criticism, Cyrus Kingsbury, who had been employed by the Connecticut Missionary Society in doing some work among the Cherokees in East Tennessee from January to July, 1816, was sent by the American Board in the early autumn of the same year to investigate the conditions and prospects of opening a school and mission among the Cherokees. The Board had informed itself of the successful work done by Reverend Gideon Blackburn in East Tennessee, who in five years of his missionary labors, had taught from four to five hundred youths to read the English Bible.

In Washington, Mr. Kingsbury interviewed the heads of various departments of the Government, and his plans for establishing a mission and school met the prompt approval of President James Madison, who, through the Secretary of War, advised Mr. Kingsbury that the Agent of Indian Affairs would be instructed to provide a comfortable school building and a house for a teacher and anyone who might live with him. The number of the buildings would be increased from time to time as the conditions would justify. The Government was greatly

interested in introducing useful arts among the Cherokees; and to make a beginning, the Secretary of War promised to provide two plows, six hoes and as many axes as were necessary. The needs of the school for properly instructing the girls were not lost sight of, for the official order assured Rev. Kingsbury that as soon as the school was organized and girls were received under the leadership of a competent teacher, that looms, spinning wheels, cards, and everything necessary for the teaching of spinning, weaving and other useful arts would be furnished by the Government. It was clearly set out by the Government that in the event the enterprise was abandoned, that the buildings and equipment might be used by any other teacher of good purpose and repute. The President desired on the part of the Government only a yearly report of the school, the success it was meeting and its prospect for future success.

With these assurances, Cyrus Kingsbury set out for the Cherokee country, filled with inspiration for the project of the American Board. In his letter addressed to Dr. Samuel Worcester, of the American Board, dated at Washington, Rhea County, Tennessee, October 15, 1816, in part, he says:

"On the 25th of September I left the Cherokee Agency in company with Colonel Return J. Meigs and two Indians, one of whom was the public interpreter, a very worthy man. The meeting was at Turkeytown, on Coosa River, about 120 miles southwest from the Indian Agency which is near the mouth of the Hiwassee. The country through which we passed is one of the finest by Nature that I have ever seen. But its rude inhabitants appeared hardly to have felt the genial influence of civilization

though their situation is said to be much better than was formerly. It was truly affecting to see so many people and large families of children entirely destitute of instruction, and living without hope and without God in the world.

"The chiefs of the Creeks and Cherokee nations were present at the Council. The object was to settle boundaries and to ratify a treaty lately made between the latter and the United States. And it is occasion of devout gratitude that by this treaty, the portentious clouds which were gathering, have been dispersed, and a foundation is laid for a lasting tangibility. After the treaty was ratified, General Andrew Jackson very politely introduced the subject of schools and urged the importance of educating their children. I then stated distinctly the object of the society in sending me out. I told them we would take their children, teach them freely without money. That we would feed as many as we could and furnish some clothes to those that are poor. That as we could teach more than we could feed, if the parents wanted to pay their board, we would teach all such freely. That we would teach their duty to parents, to their fellow creatures, and to the Great Spirit, the Father of us all. I further told them that if they wished to have the school that they must let me know it, that I might inform those who sent me; that they must permit us to cultivate land, to raise corn, and other things for ourselves and for the children, that we should wish to have one or two families settle at the school and perhaps one or two mechanics. I had prepared an address of some length to them, but time would not admit of its being made. It was now twelve o'clock at night, and they had been in session two or three days. But they concluded to give me an answer that night. After a short consultation, one of the principal chiefs took me by the hand

very affectionately, and said, I had appeared in their full council, that they had listened to what had been said and understood it. They were glad to see me; that they wished to have the school established and hoped it would be of great advantage to the nation. They appointed The Glass, one of their head men, to go with me when I should wish to select a suitable place. I have agreed to meet him on the 24th of this month. As soon as the place is selected, Colonel Meigs, the Indian Agent, will have the buildings erected. I hope, *Deo Volente,* to be able to commence a school in February, if it should meet your approbation.

"I know not that the proposed plan is the one which you would have wished, but it is the one which appeared to be the best. I am decidedly in favor of one large school at first, in preference to the small ones, though I was almost dissuaded from it at Washington City. It is considered by gentlemen in this part of the country to be a very important object, to give them habits of industry, and teach them the economy of civilized life. And I think this may be in a good degree accomplished in the way in which it is proposed to conduct the school. At first it will be expensive but the prime articles of living can be raised in this fine country with the greatest ease, and I am confident that in a few years if things are managed properly, the school may be supported at comparatively small expense. The girls may be employed in cooking and manufacturing cloth. We shall stand greatly in need of an industrious pious family from New England to take the oversight of the land. They would find a healthy climate and the necessaries of life in abundance; and a small salary which you could give them would make their situation very good and they would be of great advantage to the establish-

ment. A small family, or one without children, or even a single man, would be best. I shall wish very much for an assistant in teaching, as soon as one can be sent, and I hope he will spend a few weeks in the Lancasterian school. One of them at least should be a married man. But if you cannot send help immediately, we must do without. I trust the Lord will provide. Several in this country wish to assist, but except one, they are not as such as one wants,—he wants some qualifications.

"I should like to know soon as convenient what the Society will think proper to devote annually to this object, both as to my salary and towards the school. And I want again to urge the importance of forwarding, as much as you think prudent, in drafts or otherwise. It is a remarkably rare year for corn. It may now be bought from two to three shillings; before spring, it may be a dollar. Things may be bought at great advantage if one has the money.

"I would suggest the propriety of appointing some persons in this country to examine my accounts and see that the money is faithfully appropriated.

"I think it would not be best to advertise for a man to assist on the farm as there are many adversaries. I mentioned it as a very desirable thing if it could be done; it is the practice of the Moravians, and one which enables them to maintain a number of missionaries. I would here mention that the Cherokee talk of removing over the Mississippi. Some will say that this is to get away from civilization. But I shall consider it rather a favorable circumstance, as it will give them longer time to become civilized before their toes are trod upon, as they say, by the whites.

"I have been repeatedly requested to preach in the

Nation, but have not as yet been able to comply; hope I shall soon. Expect a Sunday School will be established in a few weeks under the direction of a serious young man who lives in the Nation.

"I am, Dear Sir, your humble servant in the cause of our common Lord,

"CYRUS KINGSBURY."

Cyrus Kingsbury was extremely desirous that all the money received at the mission he was about to establish, be faithfully expended, and to this end, in a later letter to the Board, suggested the following members of a committee not only to examine the accounts but to superintend the school, if the Board thought proper: Rev. Isaac Anderson, Blount County, Tennessee. Mr. Anderson was the founder of the "Log College," or Union Academy in 1802, which later on became Maryville College; Colonel Return J. Meigs, Hiwassee, Cherokee Nation; Colonel David Campbell and Colonel Francis A. Ramsey, of Knox County, Tennessee, and Rev. Matthew Donald and Daniel Rawlings, Esq., of Rhea County, Tennessee. All of these men were reported to be favorable to the establishing of the mission school, and with the exception of Colonel Meigs, all of the names suggested by Reverend Kingsbury, were from East Tennessee.

Turkeytown, mentioned in the Kingsbury letter was located near what is now Center, Alabama, north of Gadsden. Cyrus Kingsbury returned on January 13, 1817, and prepared to open the school. In May, 1818, when Jeremiah Evarts and Elias Cornelius of the American Board were visiting the mission, on account of the old Cherokee town Chickamauga situated just across the creek, they decided to change the name of the newly begun mission

from Chickamauga to Brainerd to prevent any confusion in the two places.

PLAN OF THE SCHOOL AND SELECTING THE SITE

In a letter written from Knoxville, Tennessee, November 25, 1816, to Dr. Samuel Worcester, corresponding secretary of the American Board, Cyrus Kingsbury notified him that he had been very busy making arrangements to begin the school. The following are a few extracts from Rev. Kingsbury's letter:

"My last letter of October 15, communicated the favorable answer I received from the Cherokee in full Council, representing the establishment of schools. Agreeably to your instructions, I have lost no time in making arrangements to commence a school on such a plan as appeared most eligible. In setting this plan, the first inquiry was,

"1. In what subjects do they need instructions?

"2. In what situation can instruction on these subjects be most successfully imparted?

"3. How can the largest number in this situation be provided for at the least expense?

"In answer:

"1. I considered it to be the grand object of the present undertaking to impart to them that knowledge which is calculated to make them useful citizens, and pious Christians. In order to do this, it appeared necessary to instruct them in the various branches of common English education, to form them to habits of industry, and to give them a competent knowledge of the economy of civilized life.

"2. The children should be removed as much as possible from the society of the natives, and placed where

they would have the influence of example, as well as precept. This can be done only by forming the school into one great missionary family where they would be boarded by the missionaries and teachers, be entirely under their direction and have their pious, orderly and industrious example constantly before them.

"3. In the first place, we can have as much land as we can cultivate. Let the Society furnish tools and horses to work the land, and let them continue the property of the Society. Let the missionaries and teachers put their salaries into a common fund for the benefit of the establishment; this fund would clothe the teachers and hire the help necessary to work the plantation. The children should be employed indoors and out much as circumstances would permit. At the close of the year, let an estimate be made of the expenses, labor and necessaries, together with a certain portion of expense of stocking the place. Let this be averaged on the scholars and determine what those owe, who pay their own board. The money thus received to be appropriated to the support of the establishment. Among the advantages of the plan are the following:

"1. It will provide within itself the sources of its own support.

"2. It will give every facility to instruct the children in agriculture, and give them habits of industry, in such a way as directly to benefit the institution.

"3. The principal expenditures will not be for necessities to be immediately consumed, but for substantial stock to continue and be employed in using those necessities.

"With reference to such a plan, I sought a place. In doing which, I found a plantation which had been occupied several years by an old Scotch gentleman, who had

married into the Nation. As he wished to remove to another place, he offered me his buildings and improvements, which included about twenty-five acres of cleared land, for five hundred dollars. There are all the necessary buildings to commence, except a school house, and perhaps a dwelling house. I did not hesitate to bargain for the place, as it is situated in a neighborhood where I can immediately commence preaching to a small congregation; convenient to a mill and water course, for obtaining supplies from the settlements. If the Society will furnish the means, I hope with the leave of Providence to begin the school in February. If the plan should not meet the approbation of the Society, it will be occasion for great regret.

"When teachers and assistants start on their journeys to this place, I would advise that they should go by water to Savannah, Georgia, thence to Augusta in a boat and call on Colonel G. Morgan for directions. At Augusta they may purchase horses or come with wagons, which are frequently passing through the nation. They will take the main road from Georgia to West Tennessee and proceed on to Mr. John Ross's near Lookout Mountain, on the Tennessee River. Mr. John Gambold, the Moravian missionary, who lives at Springplace, Georgia, thirty miles before they come to Ross's would be exceedingly glad to entertain them. I hope they will call."

CHAPTER III

THE MORAVIAN MISSION

VISITORS and missionaries *en route* to Brainerd were always kindly received and entertained at the Moravian Mission at Springplace, Georgia, which Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury referred to in the closing paragraph of his letter in the preceding chapter.

For many years, the old brick house built by a Cherokee by the name of Vann in the latter part of the eighteenth century at Springplace, in which at one time were imprisoned Chief John Ross, and John Howard Payne, author of "Home Sweet Home," has attracted many visitors. But by far, the most interesting historical point in that community is the site of the old Moravian Mission on which the town of Springplace was built. The Moravian Mission in Georgia and the Brainerd Mission in Tennessee coöperated as far as possible, since both institutions had similar objectives.

In the year 1799 Rev. Abraham Steiner of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was authorized by the Society of United Brethren, known as Moravians, to go among the Cherokees and establish a mission. Christian Frederic de Schweinitz, another missionary, offered to accompany Steiner, and the proffer of his services was accepted. These two men rode on horseback to Knoxville, Tennessee, where David Henley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at that place, issued passes that permitted them to travel in the Chero-

kee lands. When the two missionaries reached the region of the Tellico, they found that four thousand or more of the Indians were out on a hunting expedition, and could not be seen, so they could do nothing at that time to proceed with their plans.

In September, 1800, the same two missionaries made a second attempt, and appeared at Tellico for the purpose of starting a mission in East Tennessee. Major Lewis, the Indian Agent, welcomed them. The chiefs were called to meet on September 18, about thirty miles below Tellico. Among those who attended the meeting were Chiefs Doublehead, Little Turkey, The Glass, Bloody Fellow and The Boot. There were also about twenty-five more chiefs at the meeting. The arrangement of the seats at this meeting was rather informal, for they were made of rails arranged in the form of a square. When the missionaries brought up the subject of establishing missions, the Indians were particularly desirous of knowing if their children would be clothed and fed free. When the missionaries told them that this was impossible, that they could only agree to give free instruction, the Cherokees seemed to be little interested. Nothing definite was accomplished at this meeting. Twelve days later, however, at a national council meeting, the missionaries were given another opportunity, and at this gathering, Chief Doublehead suggested, inasmuch as there was no need to be in a hurry that the matter be postponed. Charles R. Hicks, a half-breed, was the interpreter, and after he had listened to Steiner's proposition, he volunteered his assistance to the fullest extent. Hicks later said, "If the Lower Towns will not take these people, we 'pipe-makers' will," to which Steiner is said to have replied, "I would just as soon go to the 'pipe-makers' and the 'frog-eaters' as the others."

These were the two nicknames that were applied to the Upper Cherokees by the Lower, because the Upper Cherokees manufactured long clay pipes and bore the reputation of using frogs for food. James Vann, who was present, gave the missionaries an urgent invitation to go to his locality.

On October 6, another council meeting was held and the Indian Agent, Lewis, again brought the matter to the attention of the Cherokees. At this gathering, Gentleman Tom was the spokesman for the Upper Cherokees and Doublehead represented the Lower. Gentleman Tom recommended to Chief Little Turkey that permission be granted the missionaries. The latter willingly gave his consent, but suggested that it might be better if one of the missionaries would go to the home of James Vann at Springplace, Georgia, and the other to Mr. McDonald's on the Chickamauga.

An amusing incident followed the close of this meeting which savors somewhat of petty politics of the present time. After the agreement was reached between the missionaries and the Indians, Chief Doublehead approached Steiner and insisted that the missionary give him a bottle of good whiskey for what he had done in helping him in putting the movement through!

Following this meeting, the two missionaries accompanied James Vann to his home near Springplace, where they spent several days. Although Vann bore the reputation of being wild and dissipated, he was extremely kind and courteous to the missionaries and never failed to lend them assistance whenever it was in his power. When they began to search for a suitable site for the mission, Vann accompanied them to various parts of the country, even taking them to the McDonald place on the Chickamauga,

which sixteen years later was selected by Cyrus Kingsbury for the Brainerd Mission. Steiner objected to the McDonald location because it bore the reputation of being a very unhealthy place to live. Two other sites were considered, but the decision was finally made in favor of the first one visited at the James Vann place. Mr. Vann was a wealthy trader, was living with two wives, and was the owner of many negro slaves. Just south of the Vann place was a splendid plantation belonging to a Mr. Brown, and the improvements were reported to be on the market at about twenty-five dollars. Sumach Town was said to be about seven miles away, Rabbit Trap fifteen miles, Coosawattee, about seventeen miles distant, and Oostanaula about sixteen miles from the plantation.

On December 9, 1800, after selecting the Vann place, Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, granted permission to the missionaries for the establishment of their enterprise.

In 1801, Gottleib Byhan, a young man who was expert in baking and in weaving came to assist the missionaries. He was a native of Saxony.

The first visit from the Cherokees was made by Chief Little Turkey, who came on May 12 and invited the missionaries to a "Talk" to be held at Oostanaula six nights later. At that meeting about seventy chiefs were present, and while the people were gathering, an Indian beat a drum until the crowd was seated. The weather was quite warm and the Indians made themselves comfortable by the use of fans of wild turkey wings. Charles R. Hicks was the interpreter.

The Moravians faced serious problems. They had to clear the land which was quite heavily timbered. It was July 13 before they had succeeded in erecting a hut, where under the light of pine torches the little house was dedicated. On March 26, 1802, the school was opened at

Springplace, with a very few pupils. Only one hour's instruction was given each day.

About the year 1753, the Moravians purchased one hundred thousand acres of land in the Piedmont section of North Carolina, and in 1771 it became the seat of the Moravian activities in the South. Its principal town, Salem, was built in 1766. Throughout the history of the Moravian Mission at Springplace, it was in control of the Salem headquarters.

The Moravian Mission was given new life in December, 1802, when Jacob Wohlfahrt, who was born in Broadway, Maine, was sent from Salem to Springplace.

Soon thereafter, some of the Cherokee leaders became quite impatient over the apparently slow progress that the mission was making in its school, and in June, 1803, the missionaries were greatly disturbed over the receipt of a communication signed by Chiefs Sour Mush and Chuleo, complaining of the long delay in beginning the school, and giving them until January first "to make good their promises."

When the missionaries told the chiefs at Vann's that they had not come to educate them but to instruct them in the knowledge of the Gospel, they shook their heads and said, "we have no ears with which to hear it"! The unjust treatment the Indians had received in the past at the hands of the whites who were professing Christians, did not recommend their religion favorably to them. However, they were deeply interested in schools.

A very spectacular scene was observed in August 27 on the horizon when there was observed a small figure approaching, the head of which bobbed rhythmically up and down as it moved forward. Onward the figure dashed, glistening now and then under the bright sun,

growing gradually larger as it sped forward, proudly, bravely and hopefully in the crystal atmosphere. Soon the red feathers from the cap of Chief Chuleo blazed into view, and when he was nearing the mission, his ornaments of silver bracelets glistened in the sunshine. Chuleo and Sour Mush led the procession of chiefs to the Vann house. As a result of that meeting, the missionaries were granted more time in which to make a creditable showing in the work recently begun.

In the meanwhile, their old friend, James Vann, kept sinking deeper and deeper in the depths of strong drink until one day he had a disagreement with John Falling, his brother-in-law, Nancy Vann's husband. Falling sent Vann a challenge. He accepted. When they came face to face in the woods, in the discharge of pistols, Falling fell dead, and Vann received only a torn shirt sleeve.

In 1809, Vann ventured into the country to punish some thieves. It was reported that he shot a number who refused to surrender. One of Falling's relatives was a chief. He made threats on Vann's life. While Vann was under the influence of whiskey and standing in a door he was shot dead on the spot.

Despite the fact that Vann was a debauched Indian, he was ever friendly to the missionaries and gave them every assistance. They were deeply grieved over the loss of their loyal friend, and were frank to acknowledge that had it not been for his aid, the mission at Springplace would never have been started.

Since the white man was responsible for the introduction of whiskey among the Cherokee Indians, the missionaries perhaps felt more than ever it was their duty to Christianize them and thus atone for the sins of the Caucasian race!

In 1805, there was a change made at the Springplace Mission when a man and his wife arrived there to become its leaders, and who made the mission famous for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, and their zeal for the education and Christianizing of the Cherokees. Rev. John Gambold and his wife, Anna Rosel Gambold, drove in a wagon from Salem, North Carolina, to Springplace to take the place of Rev. Wohlfahrt who had asked to be relieved. John Gambold was born in Shechem, New York.

In August, 1810, when the news reached Springplace of the closing down of Gideon Blackburn's school among the Cherokees, the Moravian school, although quite small, was known to be the only one left in the Cherokee Nation. It was no little encouragement, too, that came about the same time when Colonel Return J. Meigs notified Mr. Gambold that the Government had agreed to give them a grant of one hundred dollars per annum.

Mrs. Gambold was a woman of rare talents. Besides being a splendid and accomplished teacher, she was a good botanist and had taught this branch of science. When Henry Steinhauer, a distinguished scholar of Fulneck, England, asked Mrs. Gambold for some botanical specimens, she collected and correctly named about fourteen hundred species which she furnished him.

Correa de Serra, a Catholic abbé, Minister to Portugal from the United States and a naturalist, after spending a day and night at Springplace, wrote as follows:

"Judge of my surprise, in the midst of the wilderness, to find a botanic garden, containing many exotic and medicinal plants, the professor, Mrs. Anna Rosel Gam-

bold, describing them by their Linnean names. Your missionaries have taught me more of the nature of the manner of promulgating civilization and religion in the early ages by the missionaries from Rome, than all the ponderous volumes which I have read on the subject. I there saw the sons of a Cherokee Regulus learning their lessons, and reading their New Testament in the morning, and drawing and painting in the afternoon, though to be sure in a very Cherokee style; and assisting Mrs. Gambold in her household work, or Mr. Gambold in planting corn. Precisely so in the forests of Germany or France, a Clovis or a Bertha laid aside their crowns and studied in the hut of Saint Martin, or another missionary."

When the Moravian church at Springplace was consecrated on November 14, 1819, it was a day of great gladness with the Gambolds. The following poem, which was undoubtedly written by Mrs. Gambold, was used on the occasion:

Praise, honor, glory, unto Thee,
Almighty God and Lord,
That we have lived a house to see,
Wherein to preach Thy word.

We dedicate it unto Thee
On this auspicious day,
With grateful hearts, we fervently
For thy blest entrance pray.

Come enter, Thou blest Trinity,
Fill with Thy praise divine
This Tabernacle; let us see
Therein, Thy glory shine.

Missionaries

Think, O think, how great the favor
In Jehovah's courts to dwell,
There poor sinners meet their Saviour,
There the sin-sick souls grow well.

Admire the deeds of our God hath done,
What mercies to this Nation shown!
'Tis twenty years, now since His powerful hand
Led the first missionary to this land.

Congregation

With him, first messenger of Peace,
To the poor wandering Cherokees,
We now with grateful hearts here meet,
And him, our benefactor greet.

The seed which he then sowed with tears,
Has sprung, and after twenty years,
Each eye rejoiced, the fruit now sees,
And we have hopes of great increase.

We humbly on this blessed day,
For our kind friends in Salem pray;
'Twas love for Jesus, which them moved
To send us teachers whom they loved.

They richly all our wants supply;
Though distant, still regard us nigh;
In all their prayers we have a share,
We are the objects of their care.

O gracious Saviour, bless them all,
Hear the joint prayers of great and small;
Thy servants, as their God and Lord
And kind Director, do reward.

The person referred to in the first stanza of the congregation group was Abraham Steiner who made the first journey into East Tennessee and established the Springplace Mission.

And great must have been the happiness that year, when Mrs. Gambold wrote to a friend, "We are lost in amazement, and bowed in the dust when we behold the wonders of God's grace now displayed among us." The mission was never so prosperous. That same year she penned the following poem:

This was a year
In verity
The like which we
Had ne'er experienced here!
    And many a place
Was thereby set afire;
Awakened hearts' desire;
And many, weeping, bend
Before the Sinner's Friend.

Thus grace proceeds!
In what was done
He just looked on
Beholding Jesus' deeds.
Ourselves, we poor and weak confess;
    We have, alas,
Remained far back;
And yet, one look
Upon His faithfulness,
Daily renews our praise.

But scarcely had two years passed by when the Moravian Mission at Springplace lost its most precious jewel, for on the nineteenth of February, 1821, Mrs. Anna Rosel Gambold, wife of Rev. John Gambold, died. At the time

of her death, Doctor Elizur Butler of Brainerd was only ten minutes away, hastening to her bedside to use his talents and his training in his profession to assist in her recovery. She was buried in the mission cemetery at Springplace.

In *Traits of Aborigines of America,* a book by Lydia Huntley Sigourney, an American poetess and philanthropist, the author paid this tribute to Mrs. Gambold:

> Thou mild Moravian sister! Thou wert decked
> With what the giddy, unreflecting world
> Might call accomplishment, but thou didst own
> A pearl it could not purchase. Thou didst cleanse
> Thy knowledge in the Fount of Jesus Christ,
> And pour it to the poor; even as the hand
> Of the blest Angel moved Siloam's pool
> To heal the impotent. And thou didst die
> E'en as thou livest, serene, unmurmuring, pure,
> And ardent in thy faith. Thou hast obtained
> Eternal gain for sublunary loss
> And tribulation; for thy robes are white
> In the atoning blood. Say, shall we shed
> The tears for thee, blest sister! When thy lot
> Is better far than ours?

Great was the grief that befell Rev. John Gambold, and when repeated calls were made for establishing another mission at Oochgelogy, four miles away from New Echota, Mr. Gambold resigned his charge at Springplace.

It was a sad time of parting of the missionary with his friends and pupils. Johann Renatus Schmidt of New Fairfield, Canada, came to take Mr. Gambold's place. On April 11, 1821, Mr. and Mrs. Schmidt and all the pupils accompanied Mr. Gambold three miles to the Conasauga River. There Mr. Gambold met a flatboat headed down the river. Captain McNair, who lived in Tennessee above

Springplace, furnished the missionary with free transportation to his new post at Oochgelogy.

The year 1824 was one that was long remembered by the Cherokees and every person who lived in their lands; for it was marked by a famine caused from a severe spring and summer drought. Many Indians were forced to live on the roots and bark of trees. Chestnuts in autumn afforded great relief, but when the Indians thoughtlessly set fire to the leaves to make it easier to find the nuts, forest fires followed with destructive consequences. The flames drove the wild animals panic stricken and wolves entered the Springplace neighborhood. At least one person was torn to pieces by one of these wild animals. The fire, on the other hand, ran deer and wild turkeys within range and they were shot and used for food.

The Indians were easily influenced by the whites. They had learned to drink whiskey, and many other vices were their reward for their contact with the white race. The Cherokee's inclination to gamble was as pronounced in his nature as it was with his pale-faced neighbors. There was a great display of drunkenness and rioting at their otherwise innocent ball games. In 1825, one writer reported that fully three thousand people attended the Cherokee ball games and that bets amounted to thirty-five hundred dollars. The Indians went wild over the gambling game and often lost their reasoning. They would put up anything they owned, including hogs, horses, cows or other live stock, and kettles, guns and clothing.

In 1826, when Reverend Theodore Schultz visited the mission he left this written record:

"Springplace, located six hundred steps from the main road between Nashville and the interior of Georgia, is

barely three miles from the Tennessee road leading to Georgia. It is a healthful location, good soil, plenty of woods, good pasturage and wonderful springs. The mission buildings are blockhouses, placed in a square, enclosing a yard. The church stands fifty steps from the dwelling. The yard is very pretty with cherry trees, China trees, catalpa, peach and apple trees. There is an orchard in fine condition, in the midst of which lies the graveyard, holding the graves of Margaret Ann Crutchfield and Anna Rosel Gambold."

On January 20, 1827, the Cherokee Nation suffered the loss of its most beloved man, and the missionaries at Springplace, Georgia, and Brainerd, Tennessee, lost their best friend. On that day Charles R. Hicks passed away. He was born December 23, 1767, at Tomotley, on the Hiwassee River. His father was a trader; his mother a Cherokee. He was injured when a small boy and had a lame leg throughout life. He acquired a liberal education through reading and studying, and was one of the first converts at the Moravian Mission at Springplace. He married a full-blood Cherokee and raised five sons and three daughters. Hicks served the Cherokees as interpreter for thirty years, and was the principal chief for Pathkiller, the king. The first chief was old and turned over all but the nominal duties to Charles R. Hicks, who bore the general reputation of being a fine Christian gentleman. He died just thirteen days after Pathkiller and was therefore the chief of the Nation for almost two weeks. According to Hicks's own wishes, he was carried to Springplace for burial. He was dressed in white and placed in a walnut coffin and six Indians carried his body to the burial ground.

Time passed by, and in the year 1828 Rev. Schmidt was relieved of further duty at Springplace. Franz Eder and wife, of Austria, and Henry Gottleib Clauder came to take his place.

The missionaries became justly alarmed in January, 1831, when they read in a copy of the *Georgia Journal* the following section seven of the new law of Georgia:

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all white persons residing within the limits of the Cherokee Nation, on the first day of March next, or at anytime thereafter, without a license or permit from his Excellency, the Governor, or from such agent as his Excellency, the Governor, shall authorize to grant such permit or license, and who shall not have taken the oath hereinafter required, shall be guilty of an high misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary at hard labor, for a term of not less than four years."

The oath was as follows:

"I, ——, do solemnly swear (or affirm as the case may be) that I will support and defend the Constitution and Laws of the State of Georgia, and uprightly demean myself, as a citizen, thereof, so help me God."

The missionaries were not inclined to accept the oath, and in the midst of their troubles, Captain David McNair, who lived eighteen miles above Springplace, in Tennessee, invited them to make their home with him. The cordial invitation was accepted eagerly.

The Springplace missionaries were instructed by their leaders at Salem to take no part in political discussions, and as a result of this powerful attitude, the Moravians

were not arrested as were the missionaries who hailed from Brainerd, as reported in a later chapter. By the year 1831 the Moravian mission at Springplace had seventy-one members, but its existence was nearing its end. Even though the Government in 1832 made grants of eight hundred and fifty dollars for the support of the mission, that proved to be its last year. Its membership at its close had grown to one hundred and thirty-two.

The missionaries anticipated sorrowfully the end of their enterprise, one that had cost them so much hard labor and sacrifice. This made it a costly treasure to surrender. The final day came on January 1, 1833, after the Cherokee lands in Georgia had been distributed by lottery. A score of persons occupying five wagons and carts rode up and asked for possession of the mission and all of its property. Clauder, who had the mission in charge, refused to yield to their demands. After two days had passed, the strangers took possession of the property by force, and the mission was turned into a place of drunkenness. The atmosphere was suddenly changed from one of peace and song and prayer to rioting and debauchery. A few days afterwards, Clauder received a communication from General Hardin of Milledgeville, Georgia, notifying him that James Nix had drawn the property and who, in turn, had sold it to James H. Bryan, and he, himself, in turn, had purchased the property from Mr. Bryan. General Hardin had rented the property to the three families who arrived and rudely demanded possession a few days previous.

That closed forever the Springplace Mission. Through their Congressman, the Moravians were allowed $2,878 for the Springplace loss, and $4,676.50 for the loss of property at Oochgelogy. After allowing a commission

of $1,113.17 the net amount was sacredly set aside for establishing missions in the Cherokee country in the West. Later on, Springplace became a county seat and the Moravian church was converted into a courthouse. Rev. John Gambold, before this date, had died at the Oochgelogy Mission and was buried there.

However, Henry G. Clauder, who was the last person to labor at Springplace, opened up a mission at the home of his friends, the McNairs in Tennessee, where it was maintained until the year 1835. On the same plantation, Sophia D. Ruede taught school in a small house. The original McNair house is still standing and is occupied.

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONARIES WHO CAME TO BRAINERD

At this stage of our story it becomes necessary to introduce to the reader the principal missionaries who came to Brainerd and served at some time during the twenty-one years of its existence. Under the name "missionary" I include the minister, the mechanic, the farmer and the teacher, for the farmer, the mechanic and the teacher were doing quite as necessary work to civilize the Cherokee as was the minister who was instructing the Indian in the knowledge of Christianity.

In the quotations from the Brainerd journal that appear in a few of the succeeding chapters, frequent references are made to some of the missionaries whose names occur in the following brief biographical sketches.

Cyrus Kingsbury, the pioneer advance agent of the American Board who blazed the way for every missionary that was to follow in his trail to this vast wilderness, was born at Alstead, New Hampshire, November 22, 1786. He graduated at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, in 1812, and from Andover Seminary in 1815. On September 29, 1815, he was ordained as a missionary at Ipswich, Massachusetts. From January to July, 1816, was spent in East Tennessee and Virginia under the direction of the Connecticut Missionary Society, during which time he learned much of the habits of the Cherokee Indians, and of the opportunity for prosecuting missionary

work among them. In the summer of 1816, he attended a general council of the Creeks and Cherokees, and soon thereafter he purchased the plantation for the Brainerd Mission. He arrived at the mission January 13, 1817. Later on when the American Board was ready to begin a mission among the Choctaw Indians, Cyrus Kingsbury was chosen as the most competent man for starting that important enterprise.

About January, 1818, he left Brainerd with Mr. and Mrs. Loring Williams to carry out the plans. They traveled four hundred miles in a wagon through the wilderness and arrived at a place which was later on called Elliott in the State of Mississippi, on June 27. Mr. Kingsbury began a mission at Mayhew, Mississippi, a hundred miles east of Elliott, November 20, 1820. In 1833, three years after the Choctaws had disposed of their property to the United States, he went on a five months' visit among them in the country west of Arkansas. In 1834, he visited the missions among the Osages, Choctaws and Creeks west of the Missouri. He was married in New Orleans, Louisiana, December 24, 1818, to Sarah B. Varnum, of Dracut, Massachusetts. She died at Mayhew, September 15, 1822. On May 10, 1824, he married Electa May of Goshen, Massachusetts, at the Mayhew Mission. In February, 1836, Rev. Kingsbury moved his family from Mayhew to Pine Ridge, Indian Territory, where he died June 27, 1870.

Loring S. Williams was born at Pownal, Vermont, June 28, 1796. He left Salisbury, New York, December 18, 1816, and arrived at Brainerd March 7, 1817. He was transferred to Elliott June 27, 1818. Mrs. Williams was Matilda Loomis of Salisbury, New York. She was born October 20, 1793. Mr. Williams died at Glenwood, Iowa, August 25, 1889.

Moody Hall was born at Cornish, New Hampshire, December 1, 1789. He studied in a Lancasterian school under the direction of the Committee, and sailed with Loring S. Williams from New York, January 22, 1817. On January 30 he arrived at Savannah, Georgia, and joined Cyrus Kingsbury at Brainerd, March 7, 1817. He labored as a teacher and general assistant there until May, 1820. On May 9, the same year, he commenced a school at a new mission at Taloney, Georgia, afterwards called Carmel. He returned home March 23, 1826. Mrs. Hall was Isabella Murray and was born at Lansingburgh, New York, April 26, 1792.

Ard Hoyt was born at Danbury, Connecticut, October 23, 1770. He was educated at no college or seminary and was ordained pastor at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, August 26, 1800. He served as a minister at that place until 1817. In November of that year he embarked from Philadelphia for Brainerd and arrived at the mission January 3, 1818. Until May 22, 1824, he was superintendent of Brainerd, when he removed to the Willstown Mission in Alabama. He died at that place February 18, 1828. His son, Darius Hoyt, who was brought up at Brainerd, became a pastor of a Presbyterian church at Maryville, Tennessee, and is buried in the New Providence Cemetery in that city. Mrs. Hoyt was Esther Booth of Southbury, Connecticut. She was stationed at Brainerd with her husband. She died October 3, 1841, at the home of her son, Rev. Cornelius A. Hoyt, at Elizabethtown, Indiana.

Daniel Sabin Butrick was born at Windsor, Massachusetts, August 25, 1789. He was ordained at the Park Street Church, Boston, Massachusetts. He arrived at Brainerd January 13, 1818. He labored with untiring zeal at Brainerd, Carmel, Willstown, Hightower and other mis-

sions among the Cherokees. He removed to Fairfield, Indian Territory, in the spring of 1839, among the Indians in the West. His wife was Elizabeth Proctor of Ipswich, Massachusetts. She was born at Ipswich, February 1, 1783. She arrived at Hightower Mission, Georgia, February 11, 1823, and married April 29, 1827.

William Chamberlain of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, was born at Newbury, Vermont, February 20, 1791. He grew up without receiving a college training, but studied under Ard Hoyt and his family. He arrived at Brainerd March 10, 1818, where he remained until 1824. He moved from Brainerd to the Willstown Mission in Alabama, where he was stationed until 1838. He married Flora Hoyt, daughter of Ard Hoyt, at Brainerd, March 22, 1818. He died at Alton, Illinois, March 4, 1849. Mrs. Chamberlain died in Newton County, Missouri, November 4, 1886. She was born at Danbury, Connecticut, July 7, 1798.

Alfred Finney of Randolph, Vermont, was born at Harvard, Massachusetts, March 27, 1790. He graduated at Dartmouth College in the class of 1815. On August 30, 1819, he departed for the Cherokee country, stopping *en route* at Rockaway, New Jersey, and arrived at Brainerd, November 10, 1819. He was transferred to the mission at Elliott, November 30, 1820. The following July, he moved into the territory beyond the Mississippi, and built the mission at Little Rock, Arkansas, known as Dwight. Mr. Finney died June 13, 1829. Mrs. Finney, who was formerly Susanna Washburn of Randolph, Vermont, died at the Dwight Mission, January, 1833.

Cephas Washburn, a brother of Mrs. Finney, was born at Randolph, Vermont, July 25, 1793. He was educated at the University of Vermont and left in October, 1819,

for Georgia. He joined Mrs. Finney at the Brainerd Mission. When she removed West, Mr. Washburn accompanied her to the Cherokees of the Arkansas, and labored faithfully as a minister at the Dwight Mission. He died at Little Rock, Arkansas, March 17, 1860. His wife was Abigail Woodward, who was born at Randolph, Vermont, August 22, 1797.

Elizur Butler, M.D. of New Marlboro, Massachusetts, was born at Norfolk, Connecticut, June 11, 1794. He received no college education. On January 10, 1821, he arrived at the Brainerd Mission where he was stationed until 1824, when he was transferred to the mission at Creek Path, now Guntersville, Alabama. He remained there until 1826, and then removed to the Haweis Mission, near Rome, Georgia, where he was stationed until 1831. For residing in the Cherokee country without swearing out allegiance to the State of Georgia and obtaining a permit from the governor, he was arrested July 7, 1831, by the Georgia Guard, chained and marched away to prison and most brutally treated. He was kept in confinement until July 21 and then sentenced to four years hard labor in the penitentiary at Milledgeville, Georgia, September 16, 1831. While he was in prison, he wore the criminal's garb and took up the shoemaker's trade. He was not released until January 14, 1833. He returned to the mission at Haweis, near Rome, but was forced by the Georgia authorities to remove to Brainerd February 14, 1834, to escape further persecutions. At Brainerd he resumed his labors and in September, 1835, he removed to Red Clay, just across the Georgia line in Tennessee. Dr. Butler was ordained a minister at Kingston, Tennessee, April 14, 1838. On the removal of the Cherokees to the West, the same year, Dr. Butler accompanied

them as one of their attending physicians. In 1840 he removed to Park Hill, Indian Territory, and to Fairfield in 1841, where he labored until 1850. That year he was chosen steward of the Cherokee Female Seminary. He died in 1857. His wife was Esther Post, who was born at South Canaan, Connecticut, September 15, 1789. She died at the Haweis Mission, Georgia, November 21, 1829. On August 14, 1830, Dr. Butler married Lucy Ames at Brainerd. She was born at Groton, Massachusetts, April 25, 1793, and came to Brainerd November 7, 1827. She died at West Aaron, Connecticut, in 1888.

William Potter was born at Lisbon, Connecticut, February 1, 1796. He received no college or university training. November 1, 1820, he left New Haven, Connecticut, and arrived at the Creek Path Mission, January 19, 1821. He established a school there where he labored faithfully until 1837. He removed to the mission at Dwight, Arkansas, June 10, 1839. He died at Hampden, Ohio, November 10, 1891. Mrs. Potter was Laura Weld. She was born at Braintree, Vermont, October 12, 1800.

Samuel Austin Worcester was a son of Leonard Worcester of Peacham, Vermont, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., of Hadley, Massachusetts. Mr. Worcester was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, January 19, 1798. He was a nephew of Dr. Samuel Worcester, one of the founders of the American Board and its first corresponding secretary. His father had been a printer, and left that occupation to enter the ministry. He was unable to send the lad to school, and when the boy was ready for college, he walked seventy-one miles to Burlington in 1815 to enter the University of Vermont, of which his uncle, for whom he was named,

Rev. Dr. Samuel Austin, was president. He graduated at the University of Vermont and Andover Seminary and was ordained in the Park Street Congregational Church, Boston, in 1825. His father preached the sermon. Young Worcester did not tarry long thereafter in New England. On August 31, 1825, he left for the Brainerd Mission. When J. C. Ellsworth, superintendent of Brainerd, received a letter from the American Board announcing the departure of Samuel Worcester, he said, "We are soon to have a minister and an old acquaintance, Samuel A. Worcester, a scholar who can learn the Cherokee language!" And then he remarked to Miss Sawyer, teacher of the girls' school, "He is just married to Miss Ann Orr, a former school companion of yours!" Miss Sawyer exclaimed suddenly, "A Worcester and an Orr united in marriage! They are strong characters, and we shall have to mind our P's and Q's when they get here!" He arrived at Brainerd October 21, 1825.

It was customary for the missionaries at Brainerd to rechristen every Cherokee pupil on entering school, and likewise, the Indians rechristened the whites, giving to each a Cherokee name. On the day that the people gathered at Brainerd to hear Dr. Worcester for the first time, an old Cherokee woman remarked, "He is very white," and suggested a Cherokee name that meant "green." Charles Reese, the well-known Cherokee warrior who was standing close by said, "No, no. He knows a great deal; he must have a better name." Considerable discussion followed in the Cherokee language, and it was finally decided to call Dr. Worcester, A-tse-nu-sti, a word that means "a messenger," which proved to be a very fitting name.

It was due largely to Dr. Worcester's ingenuity and

labors that the new Cherokee alphabet, invented by Sequoya, was employed in Cherokee literature and in the newspaper established and printed in Indian language. At Brainerd his first child was born, Ann Eliza, of whom a brief biographical sketch is given in this chapter. In 1827 Dr. Worcester removed from Brainerd and took up his work at New Echota, the Cherokee national capital.

After the law was passed, directed squarely at the missionaries, requiring all white persons living on Indian ground to take out a permit from the governor, Dr. Worcester was arrested by the Georgia Guard, July 7, 1831, and was most brutally treated. On September 16, 1831, he was sentenced with Dr. Elizur Butler by Judge Clayton to four years at hard labor in the Georgia penitentiary. There, dressed in a felon's garb, he was set to work at the cabinetmaker's trade. A full report of Dr. Worcester's arrest and imprisonment is narrated in another chapter.

After being released from prison, he returned to Brainerd March 15, 1834, and with the eyes of a prophet, he left there April 8, 1835, to go to the Cherokees in the West. He arrived at the Dwight Mission in Arkansas May 29, 1835, and on December 26, 1836, he removed to Park Hill, where he worked faithfully among the Cherokees until his death, April 20, 1859.

Dr. Worcester's first wife was Ann Orr. She was born at Bedford, New Hampshire, September 21, 1799, and died at Park Hill, Indian Territory, May 23, 1840. His second wife was Erminia Nash of Lowville, New York. She was born at Cummington, Massachusetts, October 12, 1801. She left Brainerd August 31, 1825, and arrived at Creek Path, Alabama, November 5, 1825, where she remained as a teacher until July, 1837. She removed to Indian Territory when the Cherokees were taken West.

She was married to Dr. Worcester April 3, 1841, and died at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, May 5, 1872.

Abijah Conger was born at Rockaway, New Jersey, May 4, 1782. As a young man he taught school for six years. He was a prosperous farmer in his neighborhood, but when the opportunity came he, together with his wife and five children in company with John Vail, John Talmage, and Alfred Finney, left that place September 30, 1819, and arrived at Brainerd November 11, 1819, to serve the mission as farmer and expert mechanic. He was released from duty November 25, 1822. Mrs. Conger was born at Bridgehampton, Long Island, March, 1803.

John Vail of Rockaway, New Jersey, was born at Hanover, New Jersey, October 9, 1788. On September 30, 1819, he, with his wife and five children, left Rockaway and arrived at Brainerd November 11, 1819. For more than nineteen years he labored as a farmer at Brainerd with great fidelity. On December 4, 1821, Mr. Vail returned to his old home for a visit but went back to Brainerd March 6, 1822, and was released from duty June 18, 1839. His wife, whose Christian name was Julia, was born at Rockaway, New Jersey, April 1, 1789. By his first wife, John Vail had seven children. One of them was drowned at the old mill race at Brainerd. His second wife was a Miss Masey, and his third was Sarah Ann Fulcher of Hamilton County, Tennessee.

John Talmage left Rockaway, New Jersey, September 30, 1819, and arrived at Brainerd November 11, 1819, and served the mission as blacksmith until for some unknown reason he returned to his New Jersey home May 25, 1820. Mrs. Talmage's maiden name was Conger and her home was in Rockaway, New Jersey.

Ainsworth Emery Blunt was born at Amherst, New

Hampshire, February 22, 1800. On March 31, 1822, he left Boston for the Brainerd Mission, where he arrived April 12, 1822. There he labored as an expert farmer and mechanic until August 26, 1837, when he removed to the mission at Candy's Creek in Bradley County, Tennessee. After seventeen years of faithful and efficient service, Mr. Blunt was compelled to retire because of ill health and was released June 18, 1839. It was he who had charge of the Brainerd Mission property after the removal of the Cherokees to Indian Territory. In the year 1840, Mr. Blunt paid forty dollars for the old mission cemetery with money belonging to the American Board, to insure that the property would not fall into the hands of speculative persons, and that the graves of the missionaries and their children might be protected. His wife was Harriet Ellsworth. She and two infant children were buried in the Brainerd cemetery. Mr. Blunt died December 21, 1865, at Dalton, Georgia, and was buried there.

Harriet Ellsworth, of Greensboro, Vermont, was born at Chatham, Connecticut, September 25, 1790, and pursued her studies at Peacham, Vermont. When her brother, John E. Ellsworth, came to Brainerd, November 24, 1821, she accompanied him and married November 17, 1822, Ainsworth E. Blunt. She was released from service on June 18, 1839.

John Clark Ellsworth was born at Chatham, Connecticut, February 22, 1792. He left for Brainerd, September 25, 1821, and arrived at the mission November 24, 1821. He was a teacher and superintendent of secular affairs at Brainerd, and at Haweis for one year. His health continued to fail him until he was released from Haweis, May 9, 1826. He served the Brainerd Mission until January 10, 1837. His wife was Eliza Tolmar and was born at

Greensboro, Vermont, December 25, 1795. They returned to Vermont.

Henry Parker was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, March 22, 1791. He arrived at the Brainerd Mission December 19, 1821. He was the miller and also a farmer at the mission, and served also in that capacity at the Carmel station. He was relieved of duty at the mission July 31, 1832, and returned to his native state October 1, 1832. His wife was Philena Griffin. She was born at Simsbury, Connecticut, February 10, 1792.

Frederic Ellsworth, a brother of John C. Ellsworth, came to the Brainerd Mission from Greensboro, Vermont. He was born in 1795 and arrived at Brainerd, October 30, 1822. He labored faithfully at Brainerd and at the mission at Haweis as a teacher and a farmer until he was forced to retire from ill health, April, 1826. His wife was a Miss Coleman of Montpelier, Vermont.

Erastus Dean was born at Bristol, Vermont, May 13, 1798. He was appointed chief mechanic at Brainerd, October 12, 1821, where he arrived January 12, 1822. He worked faithfully at the mission until July, 1825, when he was compelled to return North on account of Mrs. Dean's failing health. He died in 1852. Mrs. Dean was Sarah Coleman, and was born at Byfield, Massachusetts, September 23, 1796. She died at Newburyport, May 21, 1826.

Isaac Proctor, a brother of John C. Proctor of Boston, was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, May 6, 1784. He arrived at Brainerd October 11, 1822. On March 25, 1822, he opened a new mission and school at Hightower (E-to-wee) and removed to the mission at Carmel, March 18, 1826. He devoted his time unselfishly as a teacher and farmer. In 1831 he was forced to remove beyond the

boundary of Georgia, to Amohee, a Cherokee neighborhood in Tennessee. Mr. Proctor left the mission in September, 1833. His wife was from West Bloomfield, New York.

William Holland was born at Belchertown, Massachusetts, February 7, 1798. On September 22, 1823, he left for the Brainerd Mission, where he arrived on November 20, 1823. He served regularly as a teacher and farmer. He was transferred November 17, 1824, to the mission at Candy's Creek, Tennessee, where he labored loyally until July, 1837, when he was relieved of further service. His wife was Electa Hopkins of Peacham, Vermont. She was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, May 9, 1797. She married August 18, 1823.

Sylvester Ellis was born at Randolph, Vermont, July 29, 1798. On April 10, 1822, he arrived at Brainerd where he labored unselfishly as a teacher and a farmer until May 22, 1824. After that date, he was stationed at Willstown Mission with Ard Hoyt, his father-in-law. His wife was Sarah Hoyt, who was born at Danbury, Connecticut, October 11, 1794. She accompanied her father to Brainerd in 1817 and was a teacher in the Cherokee girls' school. She and her husband returned to the Brainerd Mission in 1832.

Josiah Hemingway of Windsor, Massachusetts, was born in 1793. He arrived at Brainerd November 20, 1823, and labored there until the year 1826 as a farmer. He removed to the mission at Carmel and left that place in 1830. He was released August 12, 1830. He was unmarried.

Sophia Sawyer was born at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, May 4, 1792, but came to the Brainerd Mission from Rindge, New Hampshire. She studied at the seminary of

Rev. Joseph Emerson, Byfield, Massachusetts, and arrived at Brainerd November 20, 1823, where she was employed as a teacher for five years, and then at New Echota, Georgia. In January, 1835, she was transferred to the mission school at Running Water. In December, 1837, Miss Sawyer went to Fayetteville on the borders of the Cherokee country in the West. While there, she resided with the family of John Ridge, a half-breed Indian chief, and taught school there, but not in connection with the mission. The school was continued until after the year 1844.

William Hubbard Manwaring was born at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1804, but came from Granville, Ohio, to the mission at Carmel, April 22, 1825, and devoted his services as a missionary farmer. After one year's service he returned.

Fenner Bosworth was born in 1794 and came from Stow's Square, New York, direct to the mission. He was sent to Creek Path as the mission's farmer on November 5, 1825, and left that place April 10, 1828.

Luke Fernal was born at Nottingham, New Hampshire, April 8, 1802. He arrived at Brainerd in 1826, where he served as their leading blacksmith. Mrs. Fernal was Poanna S. B. Lewis, who died October 13, 1829, and was buried in the Brainerd cemetery. Grieved over the loss of his wife, Mr. Fernal returned to New England in 1830.

Nancy Thompson was born in Washington County, Virginia, March 20, 1792. She united with Gideon Blackburn's church at Maryville, Tennessee, in 1806. She arrived at the mission at Haweis in 1826, and became a teacher. In 1833 she was transferred to the mission at Willstown and to Creek Path in 1836. In 1839 she re-

moved to Park Hill, Indian Territory, and continued her labors there among the Cherokees until 1846. She died at Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Delight Sargent was born in 1800, and came from Pawlet, Vermont. She arrived at Brainerd November 7, 1827, where she served as a teacher. In 1829 she was transferred to the mission at Creek Path, and then back to Brainerd in 1830. She served at Brainerd until 1836 when she was transferred to Red Clay, Georgia. She was released May, 1837. She married Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* after the death of Boudinot's first wife.

Hannah Kelley was born at Amesbury, Massachusetts, July 24, 1783. She arrived at Brainerd November, 1827, and was transferred to the mission at Candy's Creek in Bradley County, Tennessee. She was released from that mission May 17, 1830. Miss Kelley was a sister of Rev. John Kelley of Hampstead, New Hampshire. She died May 23, 1859.

John Thompson was born at Kingsborough, New York, July 17, 1799. He graduated from Middlebury College in the class of 1827 and studied two years at Princeton. On December 26, 1828, he embarked for Brainerd on the steamship *Saluda,* sailing from Philadelphia. He arrived at the Carmel Mission in Georgia January 23, 1829. In September, 1830, he moved to the mission at Hightower, which was formerly known as E-to-wee. He came to Brainerd July 1, 1831. On March 14, 1831, Mr. Thompson was arrested by the Georgia Guard for living on Cherokee lands without a permit from the governor of Georgia and was taken before Judge Clayton and discharged. He was rearrested June 23, 1831, and dragged many miles from his family but was released on June 25.

He was arrested again for the third time, July, 1831, on one of the hottest days of the summer and was chained to the tail of a cart and compelled to travel with a pace equal to the horse's, or be dragged through mud and water over the roughest kind of roads, until his feet bled profusely. For many days he remained in prison. After he and his family were driven from the mission at Hightower they came to Brainerd, where they remained until April, 1832, when they left for Ohio. Later on they returned to Winchester, New Hampshire. He died April 3, 1846. Mrs. Thompson was Ruth B. Johnson of Shoreham, Vermont. She died August 3, 1854, after years of suffering from a disease aggravated by hard labor and exposure while devoting her life to the missionary cause.

Catherine Fuller was born at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, September 22, 1801. She sailed on the steamship *Saluda,* December 16, 1828, from New York, and arrived with Rev. John Thompson in the Cherokee country in 1829. She was stationed at the mission at Candy's Creek in 1829, and at Haweis in December the same year. She was with Mr. Thompson's family at the time of his arrest by the Georgia Guard in 1831; she assisted Dr. Samuel A. Worcester at New Echota in August, 1831, and was employed at Haweis in 1832. She removed to the Brainerd Mission March 1, 1834, and returned to Massachusetts May 9, 1836. She died at Ashburton, Massachusetts, January 17, 1868.

Flora Post was a teacher employed at the mission at Haweis, December 1, 1829, and was released April 10, 1832. No record can be found of her birthplace or of her services after she left the Haweis Mission.

John F. Wheeler, the old printer of the *Cherokee Phoenix* at New Echota, was first stationed as a printer at

Brainerd Mission. In 1835 he left New Echota and went to Park Hill, Indian Territory, but withdrew from the mission in 1840. On March 10, 1880, he died at Fort Smith, Arkansas. His wife died at the same place in 1888.

Ann Eliza Worcester, a daughter of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, was born at the Brainerd Mission. After her father removed to the Cherokee country west of the Mississippi, she became a teacher at Park Hill, Indian Territory, and served from 1847 to 1850. She married Rev. William S. Robertson, a missionary teacher in the Creek Nation, and left the services of the American Board. She died at Muskogee, Oklahoma, November 19, 1905. She was the mother of Congresswoman Alice Mary Robertson, of the sixty-seventh Congress from Oklahoma.

Samuel Worcester, uncle of Samuel A. Worcester, came to Brainerd as a visitor. Since he was largely responsible for establishing the missions among the Cherokees, and having died among the Indians, a sketch of him is included in this chapter. He was born at Hollis, New Hampshire, November 1, 1770. He labored on the farm of his father until 1791, when he left to pursue his studies preparatory to entering Dartmouth College in 1792, from which he graduated in 1795. He studied theology with Dr. Austin of Worcester four months, taught school in Hollis in the winter of 1795-1796. In the spring following, he became preceptor of New Ipswich Academy, which he had attended before entering Dartmouth College. He was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, September 27, 1797, dismissed Septemper 8, 1802, and was installed as pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Massachusetts, April 20, 1803. At the first meeting of the American Board, he was chosen

corresponding secretary, and performed the duties of this office in connection with those of the sole pastorship of the Tabernacle until July, 1819, when he was relieved of a portion of his responsibility as pastor by the settlement of Rev. Elias Cornelius as his associate. He continued these relations with the Tabernacle and the American Board until his death at Brainerd, June 7, 1821. He married Zervia Fox, daughter of Dr. Jonathan Fox of Dracut, Massachusetts, October 20, 1797.

The monument erected by the American Board in the Brainerd cemetery bears the following inscription, a tribute from the pen of Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., who succeeded to the office of corresponding secretary:

"As a minister of the gospel, Dr. Worcester labored for more than twenty years, with zeal, fidelity and success. As a distinguished agent in exciting and directing the missionary enterprise of the American churches, he displayed eminent talents and was impelled by an ardent desire for the salvation of the heathen. To the promotion of this divine work he applied all his faculties, till, exhausted by arduous labors he fell asleep in Jesus while on a visit of kindness to the Cherokee people."

In the autumn of 1844, Dr. Worcester's remains were removed to Salem, Massachusetts, and on May 5, 1845, were deposited in Harmony Grove cemetery at that place.

Dr. Worcester received his degree from Princeton College in 1811. Besides numerous discourses, he published *Sermons on Universalism, Channing,* ten *Reports of the American Board, Christian Psalmody,* and *Watts' Entire and Select Hymns.*

A number of the missionaries who came to Brainerd followed the Cherokees to their new home in the West,

where the American Board established new missions. These were maintained until September 18, 1860, when they were discontinued by a vote of the Prudential Committee.

In addition to the missionaries stationed at Brainerd, at various times there were others connected with the American Board who visited the mission and school. Among the earliest of these was Rev. Elias Cornelius.

CHAPTER V

ELIAS CORNELIUS' VISIT

For centuries, the Cherokee was distrustful of the motives of his white neighbor, and justly so. At times, he was revengeful. He was not very different in his nature from the average white man to-day, for although he never forgot injustice and injuries, he ever remembered an act of kindness. He was brave in war and his contact with the white race in pioneer days added cruelty to his nature. Some of the Cherokee chiefs were noble, and if the magnitude of their lives and deeds had been observed in some large, cultured city, the names of many Indian heroes would fill our histories. The loyalty of the Indian to his friends was unshakable. A Moravian missionary once said, "As soon shall the rivers run from the sea, as the red man betray his white brother when once his confidence is secured."

Some of their leaders were eloquent, and many of them frequently became poetic. It is claimed that Shenandoah, one of the renowned chiefs of the Oneidas, in his loneliness before his death at the age of one hundred and thirteen years, said, "I am an aged hemlock. The winds of an hundred years have swept over its branches. It is dead at the top. Those who began life with me have run away from me. Why I am thus suffered to remain, God only knows." And Scanando, an old chief of the same tribe of Indians who became a Christian, before passing into ever-

lasting sleep, exclaimed, "Lay me, in death, by the side of my minister, and my friend, that I may go up with him at the great resurrection."

Cherokee names are not only poetical, but musical. For example, Lookout Mountain, on account of its appearance of having been torn apart by the Tennessee River, was called in the Cherokee, O-tullee-ton-tanna-ta-kunna-ee, which when uttered may sound more like the song of some favorite spring warbler than words from the lips of man, and yet it simply means, "Mountains looking at each other."

The time was ripe for a visit of a great and influential man to seal the friendship between the missionaries at Brainerd and their red neighbors, to pave the future with a smooth pathway that the missionaries' efforts might have the hearty coöperation of the Indian leaders.

No more influential person connected with the American Board could have visited the Brainerd Mission than Rev. Elias Cornelius, who came in 1817 *en route* to various parts of the Southwest United States. Before leaving the city of Washington, Cornelius made it convenient to have interviews with the heads of various governmental departments on the subject of meliorating the conditions of the American aborigines by establishing schools where the arts of husbandry and mechanic arts might be imparted to the natives. Rev. Cornelius received favorable response to his suggestion from the heads of various departments, all of whom expressed a desire that the civil and moral conditions of the American Indian might be improved. Cornelius reached the mission September 30, 1817, before the name had been changed to Brainerd. It is well to note that at first the word "Chickamaugah" was spelled with a concluding letter *h,* but this final letter was

E. Cornelius

dropped in the spelling of the name later on. A letter that Mr. Cornelius wrote to Dr. Samuel Worcester, corresponding secretary of the American Board, is very descriptive. It follows in full:

"Chickamaugah, Cherokee Nation,
"November 1, 1817.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

"It is with great pleasure I at length have it in my power to address you from the seat of your first establishment among the poor Aborigines of our country. According to my usual custom, I have deferred writing in this instance, until the approach of the time of my departure. I prefer always to adopt this course, because it enables me to give you a more connected and consistent view of my tour, and the incidents connected with it, than I otherwise should be able to do.

"My arrival here was on the 20th of September, at half past one o'clock in the morning. In my last letter, mailed at Washington, Rhea County, Tennessee, you were informed of my expectation of meeting Cyrus Kingsbury. I waited until Friday morning, September 19, and then set out for Chickamaugah, understanding the distance to be from thirty-five to forty miles. After riding ten miles to a place called Hiwassee Garrison, formerly a military post, on the north side of the Tennessee River, I found a man who, having business with Mr. Kingsbury, agreed to accompany me the remainder of the distance. We crossed the Cherokee line very soon after leaving the garrison; for it crosses the Tennessee River, and takes a northwest direction for a great distance within the limits of the State of Tennessee. Within three miles of the garrison, we crossed the Tennessee and proceeded in a southwest direction,

keeping the course of the river, and not far from it. Our only road was an Indian path, running through the wilderness. Although it was three o'clock when we crossed the Tennessee, we chose to continue our journey all the way to Chickamaugah before we stopped. In the evening the moon shone bright and by the help of an Indian guide, whom we obtained for the last fifteen miles, we arrived at Chickamaugah Creek at five minutes past twelve o'clock on Saturday morning. This creek is large and not fordable, except in certain places unknown to me. The seat of the establishment is on the opposite side. We cried for help, but could obtain no answer; when we were making preparations to lie out on the side of the creek, the Indian guide said that he would cross and bring the brethren to our assistance, provided we would let him have one of our horses; at the same time calling his own *steekee,* that is *little,* it being a pony. We cheerfully consented, and in a short time were in the embraces of the dear missionaries at Chickamaugah. But judge of my surprise, when I was told that brother Kingsbury had gone to meet me, and by taking a different road must have missed me. That dear brother I did not see until after my arrival.

"The true distance of this place from Washington, Tennessee, may be stated at forty-five miles; and from the place where I crossed the Tennessee, about thirty-three miles. This was the reason of the very unreasonable time of my arrival at the mission family.

"I will not occupy my paper by detailing to you the mutual joy and satisfaction of the brethren and sisters and myself, on the occasion of my arrival. Although I had never seen them, they were all previously well acquainted with me, and I with them. Your own mind will better conceive, than I describe, what were our feelings on be-

holding each other's faces in this distant and benighted section of our country.

"I arrived on Saturday morning. The following Sabbath, I preached to brother Kingsbury's congregation, consisting of white, black and red people, most of whom could understand the English language. They were all very attentive, and several of them solemn. After worship, I assisted in the Sunday School instituted for the black people, who are quite numerous. The following Tuesday, Mr. Kingsbury returned, and I beheld him for the first time in my life. Our meeting was mutually joyful and encouraging.

"On September 24, Mr. Kingsbury and myself visited Charles R. Hicks, a Cherokee half-breed, second in authority in the nation. Mr. Kingsbury has no doubt given you an account of him. We all believe him an intelligent, civilized, and truly pious man. At a future time, I shall be able to give you some interesting facts concerning him. He lives about fifteen miles from Chickamaugah and is a friend indeed to the American Board and its missionaries. Under his patronage every personal advantage in his power to bestow may be relied on. His influence is very great in the nation, as I have already witnessed. For what purpose, we may well ask, has God raised him to his present station, but to do good. He not only wishes their civilization, but ardently desires that the Christian religion should be preached everywhere among them. He is about fifty years of age, and a member of the church under the care of Rev. John Gambold at the Moravian Mission at Springplace, Georgia. At the time I visited him, a number of Cherokee chiefs were present on business. I should have improved the opportunity of conversing on the subject of my mission now, but was told that on the twelfth

of October there would be a very large and joint council of the Creek and Cherokee nations at the Etowee River, about seventy miles south of Chickamaugah. I at once concluded it would be an object of great consequence for me to attend that council; and although it would detain me longer in the nation than I had expected, yet I could not doubt that the object would be thought sufficient apology for my delay. In the meantime, I was engaged in doing what I could to assist the brethren in their arduous work; and particularly during ten days, while Mr. Kingsbury was absent on a journey to Knoxville.

"On Monday, October 13, I left Chickamaugah. I had hoped to enjoy the company of Mr. Kingsbury on my journey to Etowee, but his duty seemed to call more loudly for his attention at home. I took with me one of the scholars, John Brown, a half-breed Cherokee, fifteen years of age, of great promise, and who, on account of his knowledge both of English and Cherokee languages, could act on all ordinary occasions as an interpreter. I will here just remark that I am exceedingly pleased with this youth, and cannot but think he would be an ornament to the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. He is amiable on account of his modesty and sweetness of temper. He is also intelligent and serious. His father is a chief, and a man of influence. John will no doubt, if he lives, be a person of distinction in this nation. He is anxious to go to New England where so many of "the good white people live." His father will cheerfully consent to part with him, and furnish him with a horse, saddle and bridle to accompany me on my return next spring, and perhaps he will feel able to make his son a small present annually, while he should stay at the North, towards defraying his expenses.

"To return: I had the pleasure of obtaining the company of Mr. Hicks on my tour through the wilderness to Etowee, where we arrived on Thursday, having been detained by bad weather on the way. I will not stay to detail the thousand new and interesting scenes through which I passed on my way to the council, and while I was there. I will only say here that on Friday I had a talk with the council of each nation by themselves.

On my return, I visited Mr. John Gambold, the Moravian Missionary at Springplace, Georgia, and can assure you that I was extremely delighted with him and his pious wife. We are all indebted to them greatly. Their kindness to the breathren had been unbounded; so much so, that they are now called father and mother Gambold. Mr. Gambold is the spiritual father of Charles R. Hicks, also another Cherokee.

"I returned to Chickamaugah October 23, having been absent about ten days, and traveled about a hundred and forty miles, in which time, I lay out upon the ground with only a blanket, four nights, and on the floor in an Indian house two more. But my health and appetite were never better. On October 19, which was the Sabbath, I spent in the woods, two miles from the council, with my friend, John. Since my return I have been constantly occupied in writing to my friends, to the committee, and in assisting Mr. Kingsbury in his writing. One of the workmen, having been severely attacked with a fever, has very much called off our attention from writing, and rendered it necessary that I should stay a few days longer. I am obliged for the present to desist from travelling, in consequence of a late fall of rain which has so raised the creeks, as to render them impassable; and as for bridges, there are none; and of ferries, very few. I have already had to make

my horse swim over one considerable river, and I expect to be compelled to do it often again in my southern tour."

MEETING WITH THE INDIANS

"Etow-ee, Friday, October 17, 1817.

"At one o'clock, the Indians having generally assembled, I opened my talk first with the Cherokee Chiefs, Mr. Charles R. Hicks being my interpreter. I showed them my credentials and then stated my object in the following manner:

"I observed I had travelled far from the North to see them on a subject of highest importance to them and their children; that in this I was not acting as a private man, but, as I had shown them, I had been sent to them by a society of great and good men at the North who loved them and wished to do them good; that it was their belief that in no way could they do the Cherokee so much good as by sending wise and good men among them to teach their children; to instruct them in the arts of agriculture; and in the knowledge of their great Creator; by means of which they might be made happy and useful in this life, and which would lead them to happiness when they should die. I assured them that none but good men would be sent among them; that these would never seek to deprive them of any of their lands, but would be entirely satisfied if they could teach the Indians how to cultivate them in the best manner to themselves. I stated the plan, which would govern the society in the establishment of schools; and according to which they had already, by consent of the Cherokees, established one school at Chickamaugah, and might yet establish more.

"While I was addressing them they remained attentive. When I had finished they consulted together, and unani-

mously approved of what I had said. They ordered Kunnataclagee (in English, "The Ridge") a distinguished Indian chief, to proclaim to the whole council the result of their deliberation; which he did in the center of a large circle of Indians in a speech of fifteen or twenty minutes' length. He spoke with great animation, in a loud tone of voice, and in true native style. I regret that from my ignorance of the language in which he spoke, I am unable to give you the discourse as it was delivered. But you will obtain some idea of what he said by the following brief summary, translated into English by Charles R. Hicks. I sent it as he wrote it, excepting a few grammatical corrections, made under his eyes, and with his consent:

"I am going to address the council of the Cherokee nation; and each representative will inform his own town respectively the result of our deliberations on the subject of what we have heard from the northern good people who have sent this man to us; of their offer of pity to our people, and that we have taken hold of their offer. We have thought right to accept of their benevolent object, that our children may learn to act well in life, and their minds be enlarged to know the ways of our Creator. For we have been told that by education we may know, that at death our spirit will return to the Father of it. It will also promote our children's good to labor for their living when they come to years of manhood. I am sensible the hunting life is not to be depended on. So our father, the President Washington, recommended to us labor instead of hunting.

"These good people have established one school at Chickamaugah (Brainerd) and sent us teachers to educate our children. Whereupon the council requires all persons to treat them friendly, and not to disturb anything they

have. And as there is now deputation of warriors to start immediately to visit the President of the United States, the chiefs are also requested to instruct them to ask our father, the President, for his assistance to educate our children.

"Two men were appointed, Charles R. Hicks, and another chief to render every assistance and protection to the missionaries at Chickamaugah (Brainerd), which it may be in the power of the nation to afford. I can hardly conceive how it is possible for the door of admission into this nation be thrown open more widely than it is at present. If the missionary asks for personal security; here he can sleep as quietly as in any part of the civilized world. Does he wish for the protection and the countenance of the people among whom he labors? Here they are afforded to the utmost extent in the power of the nation to give; the principal chief in the nation, himself a follower of Jesus, and ready to strengthen the hands of all these who come to preach to them. They have no system of idolatry of their own to prejudice their minds against our religion. For many years the religion of their forefathers has been forgotten. It has no place whatever in the moral existence of the nation. Neither do we find individuals in their heathen state in the practice of any system of religion; while yet it is unusual for any of them to hear of the great Creator of all things, without lending the most serious attention. Such is the native reverence of the Deity, which is cherished by them, and which seems to be their only remaining trace of religion. It is true that some of them have learned from professing white Christians to profane the name of God, and in the Indian language it has no meaning. I make these remarks, because I know them to be true from my own observation. Let faith-

ful missionaries be sent among them; and instead of finding a people tenacious to false religion, they will find a nation destitute of all religion whatever, and with no other prejudice against the religion of Christ than that which is common to human depravity everywhere."

The friendly visit of Mr. Cornelius to the Cherokees, together with the good reputation of the mission already established, made it comparatively easy for the American Board to establish other missions in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, with Brainerd as the central station. Indeed, it was always looked on as the parent institution. The mission at Carmel, formerly called Taloney, was established in 1819 and continued in existence until 1839. It was situated about sixty miles southeast of Brainerd in the State of Georgia. Creek Path, now Guntersville, Alabama, was founded in 1820 and continued until 1837. It was situated about a hundred miles southwest of Brainerd. Hightower Mission was founded in 1823 and was closed in 1831. It was on the river then known as Etowee (Etowah), which was corrupted to Hightower. It was about eighty miles south of southeast of Brainerd and west of south of Carmel. Willstown Mission was founded in 1823 and closed in 1839. It was situated about fifty miles southwest of Brainerd in Alabama near the present town of Fort Payne. Haweis Mission was founded in 1823 and closed in 1834. It was situated near the present city of Rome, Georgia. At first this mission was called Turnip Mountain, but was changed to Haweis to honor the name of a benefactor by that name who lived in England. At the request of his widow, who gave fifty pounds to the Cherokee missions, the Turnip Mountain Mission was rechristened. Candy's Creek Mission was founded in 1824

and closed in 1839. It was situated in Bradley County, Tennessee, about fourteen miles north of Red Clay, Georgia. Amohee Mission was founded in 1831 and closed in 1833. It was situated about ten miles south of the Tennessee River, and not far from Candy's Creek Mission. Red Clay Mission and school were founded in 1835 and closed in 1839. It was situated on the Tennessee side near Red Clay, Georgia, southwest of Cleveland, Tennessee. Running Water Mission was founded in 1835 and closed in 1836. It was situated about four miles from Nickajack, near the present site of Hale's Bar on the Tennessee River.

In the study of the great work accomplished at these various missions and schools, one cannot fail to see reflected in the united support given them by the Cherokees, the good-will visit of Elias Cornelius.

CHAPTER VI

A YOUNG OSAGE PRISONER

AFTER Elias Cornelius left the Brainerd Mission, he traveled on horseback to New Orleans with three friends. On November 15, after he had traveled about two hundred miles from Brainerd, he came to a stream called Caney Creek not far below the Tennessee River. Under normal weather conditions Caney Creek was a shallow brook, but when Cornelius approached it, he found that the rains the day previous had left it raging out of banks. Every means that was devised for getting across proved futile. Late in the afternoon there appeared on the opposite bank a band of Cherokee Indians who were more expert at fording swollen streams than was he. With little difficulty the Indians crossed over.

The Cherokees had been on a trip west of the Mississippi, inspecting the new lands which the United States had traded for some tracts lying in the Cherokee country east of the Mississippi.

Since the chief objective of Elias Cornelius' visit to the Indian tribes of the Southwest was to confer with them about plans for establishing more missions and schools by the American Board, he took advantage of the opportunity for interviewing the newly arrived Cherokees on the subject. The hour was leading them into evening and the Indians encamped not far away. As Mr. Cornelius rode to their camp, he saw a bright fire on top of a small

knoll with about a dozen Cherokees sitting around it. As he drew nearer, the scene became more spectacular and savored of the genuine savage Indian flavor, for he witnessed spread out on the ground about the fire, the skins of wild animals, guns, corn, tomahawks, and bows and arrows. Mr. Cornelius ventured on, and shortly after he addressed them, found that only one of their band could speak English.

As his keen eyes surveyed the Indians' treasures about the fire, he observed the arrows were still bloody, indicating that they had recently been removed from maimed or dead bodies of human beings. In the conversation that followed, Cornelius learned that these weapons had been used in a recent battle with the Osage Indians.

The display of the Indians' possessions was sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of any traveler, but the presence of a little Indian girl, whose age Mr. Cornelius guessed at five years, gave him a very perplexing problem over which to ponder.

After conversing freely with the Cherokee warriors, he did not hesitate to make inquiry concerning the Indian child. The Cherokees explained that she had been captured by them while warring against the Osages.

When Mr. Cornelius inquired about her father and mother, imagine the horror that followed when a Cherokee walked to a rude-looking bag, fumbled into it with one hand and brought out two scalps, held them up and said, "Here they are!"

Mr. Cornelius witnessed a deep expression of wonder and sorrow steal over the little girl's countenance and his heart was stirred with pity to its utmost depths. She knew little of the men who held her as a prisoner, and could not understand their language nor that of the white man

who was visiting them around the camp fire. For more than a half thousand miles the little girl had traveled in company with the brawny savage Cherokees through the gloomy wilderness in the cold and damp autumn weather. When Mr. Cornelius made an attempt to be friendly with the child, the poor little girl screamed excitedly from fear, because she had heard that white men were wicked and treated Indians cruelly. Since the girl could not understand English, Cornelius devised another means of winning her confidence and friendship by offering her some cake and a small bright cup. Although the little Osage girl understood nothing that was spoken to her, there remained one language that she in common with all other living creatures could comprehend quite readily. It is the universal language of kindness which is understood by every living creature from man on down to the lowest form of life, both plant and animal. Whether Mr. Cornelius consciously or unconsciously turned his thoughts to its power, I do not profess to know, but he made a favorable beginning when he handed the little Indian girl the small present, and thus made clear to her the true character of his heart. She accepted the gift, but she did not know what to do with the cake. She manifested a great interest in the pretty cup.

The little copper-colored prisoner was a handsome child whose features were as normal and as natural as those of the wood thrush and from whose eyes there radiated a singular beauty and wild simplicity. She was thinly and poorly clad. She had only a woolen garment about her body and a head cover that resembled a bonnet.

Rev. Cornelius was happy that he had been halted by the swollen stream, for now he hoped that he would have the opportunity of rescuing the little Osage girl from the

hands of her captors and sending her to the Brainerd school. In his few moments' talk with the Cherokee warriors he learned that the girl's owner had traded a horse for her with the Indian who had originally taken her as a prisoner. Cornelius did not delay suggesting to the Indian that he should place her in school at Brainerd and explained to him how the girl might be educated and cared for at no cost whatever to him. Her owner intimated that he might be willing to sell her. As savage as the Cherokee was, Mr. Cornelius seemed to touch a tender cord in his nature and the Indian promised to place the girl in the Brainerd school promptly on his arrival in that locality.

Cornelius hastily addressed a letter to Cyrus Kingsbury at Brainerd, explaining everything about the little girl, and sent the letter by the Indian, who demanded a hundred dollars for her release. In the letter to Mr. Kingsbury, Mr. Cornelius expressed the hope that the mission might be able to purchase her freedom.

After bidding the Cherokees and the little Osage girl good-by, Elias Cornelius returned to his former site to camp for the night, feeling glad that Caney Creek was out of banks.

By morning the turbulent stream had returned to its normal depth and Mr. Cornelius rode forward on his journey. Soon, however, he met another band of Cherokees who were returning from the lands in Arkansas. They held with them other prisoners.

When Mr. Cornelius arrived at Natchez, Mississippi, he frequently entertained his friends with the story of his meeting with the Cherokees and the little Osage girl. Mrs. Lydia Carter, a benevolent woman who listened to this story, was deeply moved to pity, and tendered one hun-

dred and fifty dollars to Mr. Cornelius with which to redeem, if possible, the Osage prisoner.

While he was in New Orleans, two months after he met the Indian girl, Mr. Cornelius received a letter from Cyrus Kingsbury at Brainerd in which he related how the Indian had visited Brainerd but failed to bring the Osage child with him. He was unwilling to part with her unless the missionaries would give him in return a negro girl to take her place. As just as this demand appeared to the Cherokee it had no appeal to the missionaries. Cornelius was greatly disappointed, and at times he was doubtful that the Indian could be induced to give her up.

But on his return journey, Mr. Cornelius determined to call on the Cherokee who held the Osage child. The Indian was found living almost sixty miles from Brainerd in a dense wilderness in an humble hut with no civilized people living near. Mr. Cornelius was greatly disappointed that the Cherokee who owned the girl was away from home. The little child, on seeing Rev. Cornelius, ran to meet him and displayed much fondness for the missionary. She had not forgotten his kindness and apparently was not unhappy in her new home, where she had a few Indian children for playmates. In the absence of an interpreter, Mr. Cornelius was unable to converse understandingly with his little friend for whose safety he was so anxious. On his arrival at Brainerd, in May, he met Jeremiah Evarts, secretary of the American Board, who was traveling for his health.

After Cornelius had conferred with Mr. Evarts and the missionaries at Brainerd in devising some plan whereby they might rescue the little Osage girl, a rumor reached them that the President of the United States had ordered all the Osage prisoners taken by the Cherokees released,

which, if true, would send the little Indian girl back to her nation.

Before leaving Brainerd, in company with Mr. Evarts, Elias Cornelius left the ransom money that was given him by Mrs. Lydia Carter of Natchez, hoping the Brainerd missionaries might yet be successful in obtaining the girl's freedom.

As these two men were passing through Washington, they called on the Secretary of War and from him learned that the President had not requested the release of the Osage prisoners. Through Cornelius' suggestion, however, the Secretary of War sent a letter to Colonel Return J. Meigs, the Indian Agent, asking him to secure the child and place her in the Brainerd school.

The latter part of the following September, the missionaries at Brainerd heard the glad report that the Osage girl was only a few miles away. Rev. Ard Hoyt, who was in charge of the mission, hurried on to meet her. The journal of the Brainerd Mission records the meeting as follows:

"On seeing the orphan, who appears to be four or five years old, Mr. Hoyt directed her to be told in Cherokee that he would be her father. She fixed her eyes earnestly on him about a half a minute, and then with a smile reached him her bonnet as a token that she accepted the offer, and would go with him. As he took her on the horse before him, she gave him some nuts, which she had in her hand, and leaned her head on his bosom, as if she had already found a father. She was very playful and talkative for awhile, then fell asleep and slept the most of the way to the mission.

"When first introduced to the family, she seemed a little surprised on seeing so many gather around her; but

when the children began to talk in a language which she understood, her cheerfulness returned, and she was soon quite at home."

She was christened Lydia Carter, in honor of the generous woman of Natchez. It had been only ten months since Mr. Cornelius met this little girl at Caney Creek.

Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain, missionaries at Brainerd, adopted Lydia as their own child and assumed the responsibility of giving her an education.

Two months after she was received at Brainerd, more exciting news reached the ears of the missionaries. This was a report that a Cherokee who lived a long ways from the school held as a captive an Osage Indian boy and a girl who were taken prisoners at the same time Lydia was captured. A message was also received that the boy's Cherokee owner would bring him to school as soon as his owner was ready to move to the Arkansas country. It was learned also that the little girl was likely to be a sister of Lydia's. Ard Hoyt and his son, Milo, left immediately in search of the children and traveled for nine days in the wilderness, during which time they slept out in the woods several nights. They rode three hundred miles, but were bitterly disappointed when they failed to obtain the release of the two children. The girl proved to be a sister of Lydia's and appeared to be about fifteen years old.

Nothing was done about the two Osage children until the following autumn when Mr. Chamberlain of Brainerd, in making a journey among the Cherokees, learned that the boy had been sold for twenty dollars, and not long thereafter, he heard that he had been resold for one hundred and fifty dollars. To the minds of the missionaries, this meant that the child would soon become a slave,

and they decided to take immediate steps to obtain him. At a conference held among the missionaries at Brainerd, John Ross, then a dashing, brave, energetic young man, offered to go and rescue the boy. Colonel Return J. Meigs gave young Ross a letter authorizing him to bring the Osage boy to the Brainerd Mission.

Ross traveled more than two hundred and fifty miles from Brainerd, to a point near the mouth of the Catawba River. Before he rode within view of the house where the child was kept, he dismounted and tied his horse where it could not be seen. Slowly, silently and cautiously he moved on foot. And then Ross's heart beat quicker when he spied the boy entirely nude, playing in the yard. Soon he had the Indian lad in his arms before his owner was aware that he was near. The Cherokee appeared but would not give the boy up, offering as his excuse that clothes had to be provided for him. John Ross refused to leave the boy. Thirteen days after he left Brainerd, he was back at the mission with the Indian boy. He had traveled more than six hundred miles. The boy was christened John Osage Ross, in honor of the young man who rescued him. Rev. Ard Hoyt, who had charge of the mission, adopted the boy as a member of his own family.

After Lydia Carter's capture, she was brought at a very tender age through bad weather for more than eight hundred miles, during which time her health was permanently impaired. However, she made rapid progress and in less than a year after her arrival at Brainerd, she was able to speak English as fluently as the pupils who had known no other language. She learned to sing and to recite her lessons with ease. She became a very devout child and was ever respectful and obedient to her adopted parents. She was always the most grateful of any of the pupils, and

displayed deep affection for her foster parents. As young as she was when taken captive, she never forgot the tragedy that took her mother away. At one time, she told Mr. Chamberlain that, "as they were sitting in the bushes, some man came and shot her mother in the heart, and the blood ran along upon the ground. Then they came and took her and put her on a horse and she fell off!"

Two years afterwards, Mr. Chamberlain was made extremely sorrowful when a formal demand was made by the Osage Indians for the return of the children who at first had been taken prisoners. On August 4, 1820, Rev. Chamberlain described his feelings in the following letter:

"My wife and myself are in trouble at present, and wish your prayers. We expect every day to lose our dear Osage daughter. A man has come from the Arkansas country for her and the other captives. Brother Charles R. Hicks thinks they will be obliged to go. I know they cannot take Lydia without orders from the President of the United States, but the man is waiting at the agency, probably for orders. We have not dared to tell her what the prospects are, though she got some hint of it among the children the other day. She ran to her mother in great surprise and said, 'Mother, they say some people have come after me; but mother won't let me go, will she?' Her mother could not answer her, and it passed off. It will, no doubt, be as hard for her to leave us, as for any other child of her age to leave its parents. And I think it will be as hard for us to part with her as if she were our own."

A little more than two weeks later John Rogers appeared with an official order to take Lydia Carter and John Osage Ross back to the Osage country. Perhaps the

children would not have been disturbed in their peaceful home at Brainerd if it had not been that a new warfare had broken out between the Arkansas Cherokees and the Osages. Through the interference of Governor Miller of Arkansas Territory, a cessation of Indian warfare was agreed on with the condition that the Cherokees would return all Osages held as prisoners.

The scene that followed was a most pathetic one, especially when Lydia Carter tried to avoid leaving the mission. The Brainerd journal thus describes the effect it had on the two children:

"John Osage Ross, being younger, and not having been so long with us, was not so much affected. But Lydia Carter had become strongly attached to us all, especially to brother and sister Chamberlain. She knew no other parents. When she heard that Mr. Rogers had come, which was early in the morning, she in company with another little girl escaped to the woods. All the persons about the house, including the children of the school, went in pursuit of her, but without success. A little after noon, one of our neighbors came and said that he had seen them about three miles off, on their way to the little girl's father. Milo Hoyt went immediately to fetch Lydia.

"When he came to the house, she had gone two miles farther. When she first saw Milo, she appeared somewhat frightened and began to cry; but soon he consoled her by telling her pleasing things about the man who had come for her, and what they would see on the way. When she came back, she appeared cheerful, and as we thought it best for her to go, she said she was willing.

"The next morning was the time set for her departure. Having a trunk and some other things which was incon-

venient to carry, she asked her mother to keep them, and if she should never come back, to give them to her sister, Catherine, adding, 'Here is a little handkerchief, too small for me; I wish you would give this to Catherine, whether I come back or not.' Catherine was the little daughter of Reverend and Mrs. Chamberlain.

"Just before they started, she seemed to be in deep thought. She looked around on those she loved, for the last time, and then dropped her head, and the tears flowed profusely. She walked out to the horse without being bidden; and notwithstanding her evident grief, she was not heard to sob aloud, except when taking leave of her sister Catherine.

"Little John, having been told from the beginning that if he would go willingly and without crying, he should have the horse on which he was to ride, and the saddle and the bridle for his own, went off smiling and apparently much pleased with his newly acquired property."

The journey was long and difficult for the children. At the Creek Path Mission, a hundred miles from Brainerd, they halted, and Lydia's heart was gladdened when she met some friends whom she knew at Brainerd, including Catherine Brown, the pretty Cherokee girl who was educated at Brainerd. She was teaching school at Creek Path. This renewal of old friendships naturally caused her to wish to return!

As she was leaving Creek Path, an Indian by the name of Whirlwind joined Mr. Rogers for the remainder of the journey. When Lydia reached the Arkansas River country in late September, 1820, after traveling since August 23, she was suffering from fever and ague at an Indian's house. Rev. Cephas Washburn, who had known Lydia at

Brainerd came to visit her. Soon she lifted up her head and asked, "Where is Ta-hau-to-laugh?" Lydia had not forgotten the Cherokee name the Indians called Mr. Washburn's baby when he was living at Brainerd.

Sixty miles farther on they traveled until they came to the home of Mr. Rogers. Since the Osages had agreed to surrender some murderers, they now refused to give them up. This made the long trip that Lydia had taken a failure of its objective. She and John Osage Ross had traveled about nine hundred miles, it seemed, for nothing.

In February, 1821, Governor Miller visited the two Osage children. He did not think they were safe at Mr. Rogers' and so he took them with him and left them in care of Mrs. Persis Lovely. Lydia was quite ill at this time and unable to travel farther. Day by day she grew weaker. During her last hours she spoke very affectionately of her adopted parents. Under the care of Mrs. Lovely, she died March 9, 1821.

When the Cherokees went to meet the Osage Indians they carried Lydia's sister with them. The Government forced them to return her to the Osages. The Osage Indians expressed their abomination of her captors by rending her clothes into pieces when they removed them from her body to dress her according to the Osage custom. John Osage Ross, Lydia's brother, was taken by Governor Miller to New England in the summer of 1821, and while passing through Washington, the little boy was introduced to the President of the United States. The Indian lad was brought up by Governor Miller and became a saddler by trade.

The story of the battle between the Cherokees and Osages, in which the three Indian children were taken

prisoners, is described in a letter by one of the Indian students while he was attending the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. In his narrative, he says:

"Revenge, you know, is one of the characteristics of the Indians, and that was the principal cause of the war between the Cherokees and Osages. This war had been carried on for many years, and its commencement, I think, was occasioned by a few hunters of both nations, being on the same ground, and taking from each other peltry and fur, till they began to slay each other. I wish here to be understood correctly. The above hunters were not the leading men in each tribe, by any means, but wild and bloody men that regarded not the interest of their countrymen, and so were the two nations obliged to unbury the tomahawk of war. The engagement took place thirty or forty miles west of the Osage village, and, I presume, two hundred miles from the Cedron, which is thirty miles from the Dardanelles. There were 600 of the Cherokees and their allies, the Shawnees and the Delawares. As to the number of combatant Osages, I do not know; perhaps they were not so numerous as their enemies; and they did not stand to fight, except a small company, who were immediately conquered. They fled from their encampments, men, women, and children, to the mountains and vales. Sixty souls were the number taken and killed, including women and children, and little Lydia was one of the prisoners. The Shawnees took some captives to their own country. I do not know what became of Lydia's parents. It is difficult to determine as there was much bustle at the time, and I heard nothing on the subject afterward. All the captives were taken at the same time. The expedition was in the year 1817, and I think, in the

month of October. General Ta-lon-tis-kee was at the head of the Cherokees. Every warrior among the Indians is entitled to as many captives as he can take, and may dispose of them as he pleases, and it was thus with the man who took Lydia."

CHAPTER VII

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRAINERD JOURNAL

One of the most interesting manuscripts left by the missionaries at Brainerd is the daily journal. It is a brief record of the chief events that took place at this institution, and contains many entries of an historical value, but for lack of space, only a few can be admitted in this book.

The Governor of Tennessee who visited the mission May 15, that year, was Joseph McMinn, who succeeded Return J. Meigs as Indian Agent after his death. The report of the finishing of the first well in this part of the Cherokee Nation on October 1, 1818, was a time of great rejoicing, for it meant as much to the Brainerd institution as is the completion of a modern waterworks for any large city to-day. The old well is still in use. The author recalls the spring which is referred to. It was near the old mill on the bank of the Chickamauga, and was in use up to a very few years ago. It has now disappeared. The water from it was of a very poor quality, and was so strong of limestone that it was not very palatable. It rose from a bed of broken bits of limestone rocks.

Chief Glass, the Cherokee appointed at the council meeting at Turkeytown to accompany Cyrus Kingsbury in choosing a site for the Brainerd Mission, at first was not convinced that missions were advantageous to the Indians until his visit to Brainerd, when he became a great believer in their schools, according to the following entry in the journal:

"April 16, 1818. The Old Glass, a leading chief of the Arkansas party, who has of late been telling his people that schools would do the Cherokees no good, called on us early this morning. He is now on his return from Washington where he has been a delegate for the Cherokees who have gone and are going over the Mississippi. Though anxious to get to his family, he was persuaded to wait and attend our school. He appeared highly pleased with the school, and expressed great satisfaction. He said the white people crowded upon them so much that they must go over the Mississippi, blaming none, however, but those on their borders. He expressed his confidence in the good will of the general government and the good people, as he called them, at the North, who are sending teachers to instruct their red brethren. He said schools were good for them, and added, 'As soon as we get a little settled over the Mississippi, we shall want schools there.'

"Brother and sister Williams, and sister Catherine Brown set out to-day on a visit to Father and Mother Gambold at Springplace.

"April 18. Brother Daniel S. Butrick went out about twenty miles to fulfill an appointment to preach tomorrow. On Monday he expects to go to Father Gambold's and return with brother Williams.

"April 23. Brother Butrick returned. He had an interesting visit with Mr. Charles R. Hicks, and was accompanied by him to the place of worship Sunday. He has been one of the public interpreters. After listening to the sermon, he addressed his people in the Cherokee language. At Springplace, Reverend Butrick observed many black people in bondage to the Cherokees, and they all speak English. Their masters, so far as has come to our knowledge, are all willing to have them instructed, and generally

are very indulgent in giving them time to attend the meetings.

"May 10, 1818. Our spirits were refreshed by the arrival of our very dear brother Elias Cornelius. His health is somewhat impaired by his long fatiguing journey through the wilderness, and from exposure to the scorching sun, and the chilling damps of night. He brought with him a fine looking Choctaw lad of about fifteen to be taken to the Foreign Mission School in Connecticut.

"May 15. Governor Joseph McMinn of Tennessee called, dined with us, and visited the school. He expressed much satisfaction in the appearance and progress of the scholars, a high opinion of the utility of the institution, and the importance of establishing others on a similar plan in other places. Towards evening, he went on to meet the Commissioners, who are a little below us, running the line between Tennessee and Georgia. It is expected the line will pass not far from the Mission house.

"June 2, 1818. A full-blooded Cherokee, about twenty-four years old who has neither parents, nor home, made application to enter the school. It appeared he had led a rambling life and obtained his living by hunting. From what motives this son of the forest was led to make this application, we could not determine. Our fears were, that he might think this an easy way to obtain his bread; that, if admitted, he would by his slothfulness injure our other scholars; or, if crowded to continual application, would soon leave us to his own advantage. The duties that would be required of him were stated in a manner calculated to discourage him at once, if these were his views. He said he understood all these things; was willing to comply with the terms; and would continue without intermission until he had obtained an education, except that he should want

some time to hunt to get money to buy clothes. He was told that hunting could not be permitted; but we would put him in a better way to purchase clothes by employing him to labor with our men in the field. He appeared well pleased with this, said he must go to the Agency to get some money that was due him. Though we still had fears on account of his age and manner of life, it was thought best not to reject him. He was told that we would receive him.

"July 6, 1818. This evening, Reverend Doctor Brown of Georgia, returning from Tennessee, called on us. Soon after him, came Mr. Randolph Stone, a licensed candidate and missionary from Connecticut. Mr. Stone has spent about six weeks in Georgia and is now on his return to New England by a circuitous route through Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio. We are thankful that in this lonely place that God is so often refreshing us with the company of our very respectful and beloved brethren, and we find it animating to our children to have so much notice taken of them by men of this character.

"October 1, 1818. Having failed in several attempts to dig a well last year, and for the want of one, been obliged to bring all our water from the creek, or from a small spring under its bank, about seventy rods from the Mission house, we deem it worthy of notice in our journal, that we this day finished our well, which is likely to afford us plenty of good water, though the quantity of limestone through which it passes makes it too hard for washing. It is about twenty-eight feet deep; the bottom all rock, except a small crevice, through which the water rises. We attribute the failure last year to the abundance of rain which fell last season, causing the earth to fall in, as we dug. It is believed that this is the only well in the Chero-

kee Nation; and we feel under increased obligations of gratitude to the Giver of all good for His addition to our convenience and comfort."

THE COUNCIL HOUSE AT RED CLAY, GEORGIA

The following account is the record of a visit made by Ard Hoyt, superintendent of the Brainerd Mission, to the Indian council house at Red Clay, Georgia. Charles R. Hicks, a half-breed Cherokee, is regarded as the second best beloved man in the Cherokee Nation. To-day, if he were living and occupying the same position, he would probably be referred to as Chief Pathkiller's vice chief. The old king referred to in the following paragraph is Pathkiller.

"November 2, 1818. Father Hoyt returned and gave the following account of his visits: 'I arrived at brother Hicks' on the evening of the day I left home. Some of the expected chiefs had not arrived, and on that account the council had not formed. A number of men were standing around the two doors of brother Hicks' largest room, and others were standing within. I was invited to pass the crowd and walk in. On entering, I observed the King seated on a rug at one end of the room, having his back supported by a roll of blankets. He is a venerable looking man, seventy-three years old; his hair is nearly white. At his right hand, on one end of the same rug or mat, sat brother Hicks. The chiefs were seated in chairs, in a semicircle, each facing the King. Behind the chiefs a number of the common people were standing, listening to a conversation, in which the King and the chiefs were engaged. I was immediately discovered by Mr. Hicks and invited to walk around the circle to him. The conversation was immediately stopped. Brother Hicks gave me his hand with-

out rising; and then introduced me to the King (Path-killer) and to those of the chiefs with whom I had not been previously acquainted; each in his turn giving me his hand without rising. A chair was then placed for me in the circle. As soon as I had taken my seat, the King inquired after the health of the missionaries and the children. Then they resumed their conversation in their own language, continued it a short time, and closed. We were next informed that supper was waiting. The King and the chiefs filled the table except the place which was assigned to me. The strictest order was observed at the table, no one moving a hand until a blessing was asked, nor withdrawing until thanks were returned. The same order was observed at every meal afterwards.

"The evening was spent in social conversation, which was carried on with the utmost freedom, Mr. Hicks being our interpreter. The King and the chiefs expressed great satisfaction in the school, and many thanks to those who are engaged for the instruction of their children and people. The King observed it was evidence of great love to be willing to teach and feed so many children without pay; and he did not doubt it would be greatly to the benefit of the Nation, for though bad men could do more mischief when learned, the good would be much more useful; and he knew we taught the children to be good and hoped many of them would follow our instructions.

"Notwithstanding the number of people collected, there was not the least disorder or tumult, all retired to rest at an early hour, and perfect stillness prevailed the whole night. The council was not formed until late next day. It was opened by a formal speech, delivered with animation, and heard with great solemnity. I was told that opening the council in this manner is an ancient religious rite, and considered as an appeal or prayer to the Good

Spirit; though few, if any now understand the meaning of the words used. Several letters were read in council by brother Hicks, respecting the exchange of country, but nothing of importance was done. The council adjourned a little before sunset, and the same order was observed the second night as the first.

"Next morning, being the second after my arrival, I mentioned to brother Hicks my desire to give them a talk at some convenient time, while the council was sitting, if he thought it would be agreeable to the King and chiefs. He said it would, no doubt, be agreeable to them, and he would prepare the way by mentioning it as soon as the council met. The King and chiefs being seated in the council house, and the people gathered around, brother Hicks told them I had something to say, if they were willing to hear, and informed me that they would then attend to what I had to say.

"I immediately entered the council house, so called, which is merely a spacious roof, supported by posts set in the ground, and left open on all sides; except that it has a railing which extends round the whole building, leaving only an opening on one side about the width of a common door. Next the railing on the inside are benches round which the King, old men and chiefs are seated; the rest of the people stand on the outside of the railing. I stood a little below the center of the house facing the King, with Mr. Hicks on my right as interpreter, my audience surrounding me on every side.

"After a short introduction, in which I expressed my thanks that the Good Spirit had permitted me to meet them, that they had received me as a friend and a brother, and were now giving me an opportunity to speak to them, I endeavored to exhibit the character of the true God, as a being of unbounded benevolence, and brought to view

the evidences of this from the works of creation and providence. I told them that the good Book, which contained the principles of our religion, asserted and confirmed these facts, and also taught us, that to be happy we must be good; that to be truly good was to be like the Good Spirit; that He was displeased with sin, and well pleased with only that which was good, and those who did good—yet He did good to all, and would have all men told what they must do in order to be happy. This was found in the good Book, and the Good Spirit would have all men made acquainted with it. I endeavored to show them that the plan for missions and schools among them must have been devised solely for their good; nothing was asked from them; not a foot of their land or anything else.

"I then gave a brief statement of the feelings of the missionaries before they came out, and of others in our own country; particularly their ardent desire that their red brethren might enjoy the same privileges as they did.

"When I had taken my seat, a few words passed between the King and the chiefs, in their own language, after which, the King said they thanked me for the good talk I had given them, and were all well pleased with the whole of it. They knew, as he had told the evening before, that nothing but a desire to do good could induce us to instruct and feed so many children without pay. It was further observed that they must now attend to business of great national importance, and, as soon as that was finished, they would attend to what I had said about other schools, and communicate freely according to my requests. I then observed that I must leave them and return to the school, but, if agreeable, I would first take King Pathkiller by the hand in token of our mutual friendship, and

of the mutual love and friendship that subsisted between his people, and all concerned in the Mission. The King most cordially gave his hand as a token and seal of this, while I implored the divine blessing upon his people. This being done, the chiefs all rose from their seats, came up to me, one by one, and each gave his hand in a most affectionate manner. This closing scene was to me truly impressive, and I think will not soon be forgotten.

"Brother Hicks left the council and accompanied me a short distance on my way. While by ourselves, he assured me there was no dissimulation in what I had seen; that all were highly pleased, and he thought much good would result from the interview."

CHRISTMAS DAY AT BRAINERD

"December 25, 1818. Christmas is a great day among the whites and half-breeds. It has been kept in such a manner, that the Cherokees have given it a name which signifies 'shoot-ing day.' Almost all the slaves have their time from Christmas to the end of the year, and generally spend it frolicing and in drinking. Considering the general abuse of the day by almost all classes of people, we had doubts whether it would be best to take any notice of it; but hearing that a number of blacks were designing to attend preaching on that day, if there were any, instead of carousing as usual, we gave public notice of preaching. Several blacks coming in too late for the sermon, we appointed an evening lecture for their instruction."

PATHKILLER'S VISIT

The old king referred to in the following entry in the Brainerd journal is Pathkiller, and the chief who accom-

panied him was The Boot, whom Father Hoyt mentions in his notes of the meeting at Red Clay, Georgia.

"January 1, 1819. The old King and one of the principal chiefs from the southern part of the Nation came to visit the school. They arrived just at evening. On winter evenings our children are collected in one room where they are exercised in spelling, answering questions and in singing. When the old King saw the children assembled this evening, he was greatly delighted, and shook hands with them most affectionately. He appeared much pleased during the first exercises, though he does not understand English. When they began singing, he could not refrain from tears; though evidently endeavoring to repress his feelings, as if ashamed to weep. The furrows of his war-worn cheeks were plentifully watered, and his handkerchief almost constantly applied to dry them. He spoke to the children affectionately, as did also the accompanying chief.

"January 2, 1819. The King and the chief visited the school. After the children had passed through the various exercises, the King addressed them in a grave and affectionate manner, sitting. The chief arose and spoke, as it appeared to us, in a most eloquent and persuasive manner, for some time. By his gestures we supposed he was talking to the children about getting an education, then dispersing through the Nation, doing great good throughout life, and thus meeting together above to receive a reward.

"After the chief had concluded, the King again addressed the children a few minutes, and requested that they might all come round and shake hands with him, which they did. Both the King and the chief then expressed their warmest thanks for the good we were doing

to their Nation; said they should think much of us, and of the school, and would tell their people everywhere that it was very good to send their children here.

"This evening, Milo Hoyt returned from Knoxville. He brings the agreeable intelligence that sister Hall was delivered of a daughter on the 27th ult., and that both mother and daughter were likely to do well.

"Returning about thirty miles from Knoxville, Milo's business called him off the main road; in getting into it again, he had to pass several miles through the woods. Within sight of a house, just before he came to the main road, he was met by a man on horseback, who accosted him as an old acquaintance, and rode up as if he would shake hands; when suddenly seizing Milo's bridle and turning his horse about, he presented a cocked pistol at his breast, and commanded him, on pain of instant death, to ride back. The boy positively refused to go one step back. The man (being as was supposed, afraid to fire his pistol so near the house) leaped from his horse, drew a large knife, and told the boy to deliver his money, or he would instantly cut his throat, still holding the horse by the bridle. At this critical moment, the boy, giving his horse a stroke with the whip, and twitching the bridle, made his escape. He had with him between four and five hundred dollars. It is considered much safer travelling anywhere in the Cherokee country than over the line on its borders."

THE ARRIVAL OF JOHN ARCH

John Arch, whose Cherokee name was Atsi, became the leading interpreter for the Brainerd Mission, and by his unselfish and pious life devoted to the missionary cause, won for himself the confidence and highest esteem of his

teachers. The following description of this Indian on his arrival discloses how doubtful the missionaries were at first of the wisdom of accepting him at the institution.

"Sabbath, January 24, 1819. A Cherokee man, who does not know his age, thinks he is about twenty-five years, but who apparently, is not quite so old, offered himself as a scholar. He spoke English, and his countenance indicated a mind capable of improvement; but having the dress and dirty appearance of the most uncultivated part of the tribe, and withal a mind and body so many years under the influence of these habits of savage life, we are sorry to hear him say anything about entering school. But after listening to his story, which was somewhat interesting, we thought best to take him on trial. He says he was born, and has always lived, near the white people on the borders of Carolina; that when he was small he went to school a short time, learned his letters, and to spell a little. After he left school, he studied his spelling book, at times, until it was worn out; that he had ever since a desire to learn to read, but being too poor to support himself at school, and having worn out his book, he had given up the hope of getting learning, and nearly forgotten what he once knew. Being in Knoxville last Christmas, he saw brother Hall, and for the first time heard of this school. He there determined he would come and try to enter school as soon as he could. He said he was never before in this part of the Nation, and had been seven days coming. He readily agreed to our terms of entering and continuing in the school, but said he had no way to obtain clothes but by selling his gun, that being all the property he had in that part of the Nation, from which he said he came, where the most ignorant and uncultivated of any in the whole tribe,

and knew not but that he was sent here to obtain light, and to be the instrument of carrying it back to that corner. His willingness to part with his gun, an article so dear to the Indian, we considered a favorable omen. We agreed to take his gun and pay him in clothes as he should want them. With this, he was highly pleased; stripped off his dirty rags, and we clothed him from the box lately sent from Philadelphia. He says his name is John Arch.

"February 11, 1819. Received a letter, said to be written at the request and in behalf of all the people in the district called Battle Creek, requesting us to send them a schoolmaster to teach their children. This district lies on and near the Tennessee, on its north side, about forty miles below Brainerd.

"March 1. Brother Chamberlain set out this morning to go to Battle Creek to talk with the people about commencing a school there. Milo Hoyt returned from Knoxville with his sister Sarah, both in good health. They brought us more money to purchase corn; but not enough to obtain a supply for the season.

"March 23. Catherine Brown's father brought her again and committed her to our care till her education should be completed, intending to remove with the remainder of his family to the Arkansas immediately.

"April 17. Brother Butrick went down to brother Hicks' to fulfill the appointment to preach there to-morrow. While there, the beast on which he rode, one of our most valuable horses, died.

"April 25. Sabbath. The Reverends Messrs. Saunders and Madderwall, and Mr. Scott, a lay brother from Georgia, called this morning and kept Sabbath with us. Mr. Saunders preached in the morning and Mr. Madderwall lectured in the evening.

"May 7. A Cherokee woman came 120 miles to-day to hear the Gospel preached. She had been interested through Catherine Brown at Creek Path.

PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE VISITS BRAINERD

The largest and most influential educational institution in the world would have regarded a visit from the President of the United States one of the highest honors, especially from one who had achieved so many noteworthy deeds, some of which made his name immortal. That President James Monroe was humble enough to visit the Brainerd Mission and School, only adds another testimony to his greatness as a citizen and as a statesman.

"May 27, 1819. The President, accompanied by General Gaines and lady stopped to visit the school. We had expected the President would call, as he passed, but supposed we should hear of his approach in time to make a little preparation and to meet and escort him in; but so silent was his approach, that we had no information of his having left Georgia, till he was announced as at our door. In thus taking us by surprise, he had an opportunity of observing how the concerns of the family and the school were managed when we were alone; and perhaps it was best, on the whole, that he should have this view of us. If we had endeavored to appear a little better than usual, we might have only made it worse.

"He looked at the buildings and farms, visited the school, and asked questions in the most unaffected and familiar manner, and was pleased to express his approbation of the plan and instruction, particularly as the children were taken into the family, and taught to work. He thought this the best and perhaps, the only way to civilize and Christianize the Indians, and assured us he was well

pleased with the conduct and improvement of the children.

"We had just put up, and were about finishing a log cabin for the use of the girls. He said that such buildings were not good enough, and advised that we put up another kind of building in the place of this—that we make it a good two-story house, with brick or stone chimney, and glass windows, and that it be done at public expense. He also observed, that after this was done, it might be thought best to build another of the same description for the boys, but we could do this first. Giving us a letter directed to the Agent, he observed, 'I have written him to pay the balance of your account, for what you have expended on these buildings, and also to defray the expense of the house you are now about to build. Make a good house, having due regard to economy.'

"May 28. The President left us this morning after breakfast. Before his departure he, in the kindest manner, requested Father Hoyt to write him unofficially, from time to time, and give him a free and particular statement of the concerns of the Mission and of our wants."

Edmund Pendleton Gaines, the army officer who accompanied President Monroe to Brainerd as reported in this visit, was a nationally known military man. It was he who made the survey of the military road from Nashville, Tennessee, to Natchez, Mississippi. Later on, while serving as military collector of customs for the district of Mobile, Alabama, he placed Aaron Burr under arrest in February, 1807. At the battle of the Thames of the War of 1812, Gaines served as a captain, and participated in other important engagements. Among his military duties was his service in the second Seminole War of 1837. He received a severe injury at Ouithlacoochie.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

"June 11, 1819. Mr. Job Bird, of Putnam County, Georgia, aged 52, travelling through the Nation with his family, deceased last evening about seven miles from this place. By request of his bereaved widow, his remains were this day deposited in our burying ground.

"November 6. The father of John Arch has been with us two or three days. We learn that he came for the express purpose of taking his son home with him, nor does it appear that he can be easily turned from his purpose. He is unwilling to have his son so far from him. It is a time of great trial with John.

"November 9, 1819. The Reverend Abraham Steiner of the Society of the United Brethren in the Southern States, made us a very friendly visit. He brought an affectionate letter to us from the Directors of that Society. They desire that no sectarian differences may be known among the heathen, and propose a reciprocal communion of fellowship between their church and ours among this people, and a mutual interchange of members, if any should so alter their residence, as to render such a change convenient and expedient. They also desire that no children dismissed for bad conduct from one school may be received by the other, except by request from the directors of the school from which they are dismissed.

"We replied that these proposals were agreeable to the desires of our Directors, so far as we were acquainted with them, and were in perfect accordance with our wishes. Mr. Steiner has for a number of years been warmly engaged for the Christianization of this tribe.

"In 1799 he was sent out by the Directors of that Society, to ask permission to establish a school in the Cherokee Nation. He pressed the subject with great zeal

in the National Council, backed by the officers of the Government, but was utterly refused. In 1800 he came out again and renewed his application and after much hard work founded the Moravian Mission at Springplace, Georgia, which has continued without suspension, though at times with great difficulty, ever since.

"Mr. Steiner says that no wagon road had ever been cut, or a wagon entered the Nation, till sometime after this. The chief, on whose land the mission was established, built the first wagon, for which he was severely censored by the Council, and forbidden the use of such a vehicle. But he did not regard their mandate. The objection was, 'If you have a wagon, there must be wagon roads; and if wagon roads, the whites will be amongst us.' Mr. Steiner has been absent from the Nation about sixteen years. The improvement since that time has been, he says, most delightful and astonishing.

"December 7. Mr. Andrew Ross, who in connection with his brother, John Ross, has lately established a store at Fort Armstrong, about sixty miles from Brainerd, says the people there are very desirous of having a school in that neighborhood. We have repeated applications for a school in that place.

"December 10, 1819. Reverends Messrs. Donald and Anderson of the Visiting Committee, and the Reverend Mr. Eagleton of Kingston, Tennessee, came this evening for the purpose of visiting the school, and examining the state and management of the general concerns of the mission. Others of the Committee had contemplated coming, but were prevented by sickness and other causes. We can hardly expect a general attendance of the Committee at any one time, as all, except one, live more than a hundred miles away.

"Sabbath, December 12. Mr. Anderson preached the sermon before communion. The Osage boy, whom we call John Osage Ross, was offered in baptism, as the adopted son of Father Hoyt, and was baptised by Mr. Donald. Mr. Eagleton preached in the evening.

"December 13. The Visiting Committee confined their attention to the girls' school during the forenoon exercises. In the afternoon, both schools were brought together. In the evening the children were assembled as usual for catechising and singing. The behavior of the children was satisfactory to us, and we believe to the Committee.

"December 13. Meeting for business; the Visiting Committee present by request. Brother Butrick presented in manuscript a Cherokee spelling book. The opinion of the Committee being asked, they decided that it was best to have it printed. Thereupon, Resolved, that measures be taken immediately to have the spelling book printed. Resolved, that brother Butrick go to Knoxville to superintend the printing of this book, and have leave to take with him David Brown. Resolved, that six hundred copies of the book be printed.

"Mr. Eagleton having expressed a desire to take John Arch into his family and give him the benefit of his private instruction, and of the Academy which is near his door, and John being willing to go, at the same time referring it entirely to our judgment, saying, he looked on the missionaries as his fathers, and would follow our direction —it was thought best for John to go with Mr. Eagleton for the present.

"December 14. Resolved, that we purchase 4,000 pounds of pork, and 1,000 bushels of corn in addition to what we have already engaged. Also, that we purchase 500

bushels of oats, if they can be obtained on reasonable terms.

"January 11, 1820. John Arch, having continued about two weeks with Mr. Eagleton at Kingston, Tennessee, and then visited some of his relatives in the nation, returned to us. His joy in getting back to Brainerd was very great. He said that he did not wish to see his father and his other relatives half so much, as to come back to see us. He speaks very favorably of Mr. and Mrs. Eagleton, and says that he will go back if Father Hoyt thinks best. He had much rather stay here, and we therefore conclude to let him remain.

"January 30. Our hearts were gladdened by the reception of a fine looking Creek boy, apparently about ten or eleven years old, who has been several years a captive in this Nation, and is now liberated by the United States Agent, and placed by him under our care. The Agent writes, 'He is a very fine child of nature. I find that he has a sound mind in a sound body, which only wants cultivation to make him one day a very useful member of the great community, and especially of the tribe to which he belongs. His Indian name is very difficult to pronounce or to write. I have given him a name, which in time may be found appropriate. I have named him Joseph. If agreeable to you, I wish he may retain that name, to which you may, perhaps, think proper to add a surname. It is not improbable, that I shall obtain one or two more Creek children.'

"February 16. Brother Conger returned. He has engaged two carpenters and laborers who are expected soon. He saw the Indian Agent, and mentioned to him that we proposed to add the surname Meigs to that of Joseph,

which he had given the Creek boy. The Agent was well pleased."

Colonel Return J. Meigs gave his loyal support to the Brainerd Mission and school. His name, "Return Jonathan" was bestowed on him as an infant by his parents to commemorate the supreme moment in their courtship, as romantic as it was, when he had bidden his young Quakeress sweetheart farewell after her refusal to marry him, who before her lover's complete departure screamed aloud, "Return Jonathan!" that she might give him a favorable answer!

Colonel Meigs enlisted in the Revolutionary Army following the battle of Lexington, and saw service under Arnold. He was standing by the side of Montgomery under the walls of Quebec and was wounded and taken prisoner, but a year later was exchanged. He died in the Cherokee country of East Tennessee, January 28, 1823.

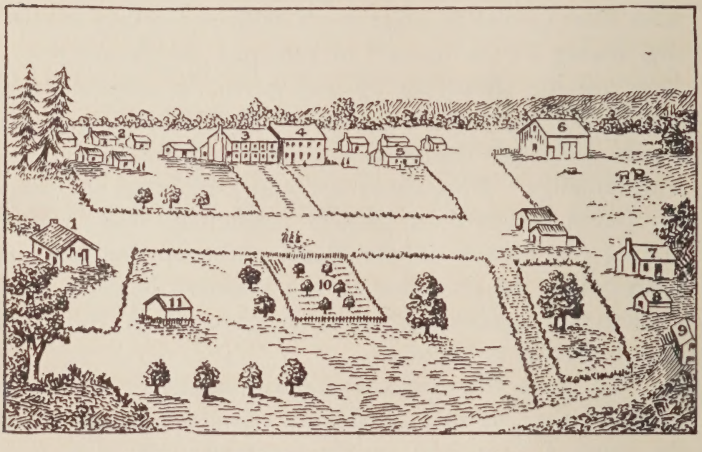
CHAPTER VIII

A DESCRIPTION OF THE BRAINERD MISSION

WHEN Jeremiah Evarts, treasurer of the American Board, visited the Chickamauga Mission in 1818 and met with Elias Cornelius, after much deliberation they decided that owing to the name Chickamauga comprehending a large district stretching up and down the creek by that name, and the Indian village called Chickamauga, they would rechristen the mission to save any confusion with Chickamauga. They chose the name Brainerd in honor of David Brainerd, a pioneer missionary who worked among the Indians in the North and who died seventy years before the founding of the Brainerd Mission. Mr. Cornelius described the mission grounds in the most minute details as follows:

"The place where the institution stands is two miles north of the line that divides the State of Georgia from the State of Tennessee, on the southwest side of a small river, called Chick-a-mau-gah creek. On approaching it from the northeast, you come to the creek at the distance of fifty rods from the principal mission house. Immediately, you leave the woods, and crossing the stream, which is from four to six rods wide, you enter an area of cleared ground, on the right of which appear numerous buildings of various kinds and sizes. At the distance of a few steps stand a grist mill and a saw mill, turned by a canal three quarters of a mile in length, which conducts

the water from a branch of the creek in the neighborhood. A little farther on, you come to a lane, on either side of which are several houses occupied by laborers and mechanics of various descriptions. Following the lane, which runs across the cleared ground, you pass a large and commodious barn, with some other buildings, and are conducted directly in front of a row of houses, which forms the principal part of the settlement and makes a prominent appearance in the view of Brainerd.



THE STATION AT BRAINERD MISSION
(*From a sketch by Thomas E. Paine in 1821*)

(1) Boys' School House
(2) Boys' Cabin
(3) Mission House
(4) Girls' House
(5) Girls' School House
(6) Barn
(7) Farmer's House
(8) Carpenter's House
(9) Sawmill
(10) Garden
(11) Graveyard

"Nearly in the center of the row is the mission house, two stories high, having a piazza its whole length, with a pleasant court yard in front of it. It is occupied by the superintendent and other missionaries. Behind it, and immediately connected with it, is the dining hall and kitchen

for the establishment. On your right, and at the distance of a few feet, stands another building of two stories, which is used for the instruction of the girls. It is well finished, and was built by the particular direction of President James Monroe, who called here in May, 1819, on his tour through the western States. Many smaller buildings are ranged upon the right and left of these two, and afford convenient lodging places for the children, and other persons connected with the institution.

"Passing onward, about thirty rods, to the end of the lane which has been mentioned, you come to the school house for the boys; which stands in the edge of the woods, and is large enough to accommodate one hundred scholars. On the Sabbath, it is used also as a place of worship. The whole number of buildings belonging to the institution exceeds thirty. They are, most of them, however, constructed of logs, and make but a plain appearance.

"The ground, on the south and east side of the lane (the direction of the lane is northeast and southwest), is divided into a garden, an orchard, and several other lots, which are neatly fenced in, and present a pleasant prospect in front of the mission house. In a corner of the orchard, next the schoolhouse, is the graveyard, where lie the bodies of those who have died at the institution, and among them the remains of that great and good man, the Reverend Doctor Samuel Worcester.

"The whole circumference of the ground which has been described may not, perhaps, include fifty acres, but being in the midst of a wilderness, whose deep forests appear on every side, it presents to the beholder a scene of cultivation and of active and cheerful life, which cannot but inspire him with pleasure. To the Christian, who

contemplates the moral wilderness by which it is surrounded, it presents a prospect more delightful than tongue can express."

Jeremiah Evarts came to Brainerd on a second visit in May, 1822, for the purpose of investigating the mission for the Prudential Committee of the American Board. On Monday, May 20, 1822, he and a Mr. Goodell, whom the Board had appointed to do some particular work in East Tennessee, accompanied Cyrus Kingsbury for a distance of nine miles on his journey from Brainerd to the Choctaw Indian country.

They stopped at John Ross's where Mr. Kingsbury bade good-by to Mrs. McDonald, who was greatly attached to him. Of this trip, Jeremiah Evarts left the following notes:

"Although Mrs. MacDonald cannot speak English, she expresses in her countenance and manner much Christian sensibility.

"At old Mr. Ross's we dined and were treated with the kindest hospitality. Riding upon the top of Lookout Mountain, where we had, through the trees, occasional glimpses of a magnificent prospect, we came to a place where it was expedient to separate. We alighted, knelt by the side of the road. Mr. Kingsbury prayed and then I prayed. After Mr. Kingsbury had proceeded down the mountain, I stood awhile upon a rock and looked down upon the Tennessee River and beyond it. I could observe but one clearing in the whole amphitheatre, which lay spread before me, and which was circumscribed by the Lookout and Raccoon Mountains, and by Walden's Hills. The whole appearance is that of a wilderness—probably much as it was a thousand years ago.

"On our way home to the Brainerd Mission, we found

a tree of black mulberries ripe in Mr. Ross's field. They were delicious."

The above word picture of a view from Lookout Mountain a hundred and eight years ago, affords one a vista of a wilderness of what is now a city of one hundred and twenty thousand people, and its surrounding lands. That was sixteen years before Chattanooga was founded, and before Missionary Ridge had received a name.

Another description that makes very fine reading to-day is disclosed in a letter from Mr. Evarts dated at Knoxville, Tennessee, May 29, 1822, written while he was on his return trip to Boston. In part he says:

"I deem it unnecessary to communicate by letter a detailed account of the Brainerd church, schools, the agricultural labors, the mills, the shops and the state of the mission family.

"When I arrived in the upper counties of Georgia, I endeavored to obtain a suitable companion before entering upon the Indian lands, partly because my health was not robust, but more because my friends, both at the North and the South, had urged the measure upon me. Several clergymen and others, to whom I proposed the subject, were desirous of visiting Brainerd, and expressed a strong wish to accompany me; but their engagements would not permit. Thinking it unnecessary to delay my journey for the sake of company, I proceeded alone. Leaving the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Montgomery in Jackson County, Georgia, on Monday, the 29th of April, I rode to the Chattahoochee, which is the boundary of lands still retained by the Cherokees. Early next day, crossing the ferry, I had a pleasant ride in the wilderness, the fields of the few inhabitants on the road occupying but a

small part of the way. Before noon, on the first of May, I reached Taloney, and found Mr. Hall, Mr. Parker and their families in comfortable circumstances. This station is forty-six miles from the Chattahoochee and sixty-two miles from Brainerd, on what is called the Federal Road. It is near a small river, called Talking Rock creek, and five miles from the Cherokee town of Taloney, which lies off the road, in a northeasterly direction. I rested here until after breakfast on the 3rd, and then set out with Mr. Hall for Brainerd. The intervening time was spent in examining into the affairs of the station. I cannot enter into details here; but would say, in general, that most gratifying evidences of the beneficial tendency and good effects of local schools, was very apparent.

"At evening we reached Springplace, Georgia, and were kindly received by Mr. Johann R. Schmidt, the Moravian missionary, and by his family. The venerable Mr. John Gambold was removed some time since to a new station called Oochgelogy, near which place the greater part of the converts under his ministry reside. I regretted very much that I was unable to see this faithful missionary, in whose company, while on my former journey, I spent one of the happiest days of my life, and for whom the friends of the missions, universally, so far as they know his character, feel a sincere respect and cordial affection.

"On Saturday evening, at half past nine, we arrived at Brainerd, having been delayed partly by the heat, and partly by other causes. All was still. As we passed the burying ground, on our way to the mission-house, we stopped and looked awhile upon the grave of Dr. Samuel Worcester. The light of the full moon, though obscured by clouds, enabled us to distinguish the place. The reflections which would naturally arise in the mind, at such

a time, you, who know the man, and the circumstances of his death, and the nature of the union, which had subsisted between us, can easily conceive.

"We found the mission family in usual health. But few Cherokee children were there, the spring vacation not having expired till the following Tuesday. Mr. Kingsbury had arrived to meet me, the day before. He was accompanied by Mr. Goodell, who had visited Elliott and Mayhew, Mississippi, having made an excursion from the route of his agency for that purpose. Mr. Goodell and I left Brainerd on May 21. We travelled through the wilderness thirty-six miles to the Cherokee agency, which is on the south side of the Hiwassee, about E. N. E. from Brainerd. A large tract of land, on the north side of the Hiwassee, has been ceded to the United States by the Cherokees since my former visit. The town of Calhoun directly opposite to the Cherokee agency, is on a part of this cession.

"As the present limits of the lands, occupied by the Indians in the southwestern States are not laid down on any map that I have seen, and as mistakes of considerable importance are often made, in regard to the situation of Brainerd, you will excuse me for giving the outlines of the country still reserved to the Cherokees. Though repeated cessions of land have taken place within a few years past, and though the limits of this tribe are much contracted, yet the remaining territory is supposed to contain at least 10,000,000 acres, which, if laid out in regular form, would fill a space 156 miles long and 100 miles broad; a space larger than the area of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island united. Brainerd is about thirty miles from the northwest corner of Georgia, in an easterly direction, two miles within the chartered limits of Tenn-

essee, on the western side of the Chickamaugah Creek. It is nearly equi-distant from the eastern and western extremities of the Cherokee country. Augusta is 250 miles southeast; Nashville, 150 miles northwest, and Knoxville, 110 miles northeast.

"At this season of the year it was very pleasant travelling. The waters had subsided, so that there was no serious difficulty in fording the streams; though, a few days before, the more rapid streams were impassable, and others could only be crossed by swimming. Several travellers, whom I met, had been detained by high water. The forest, though generally the trees are not thick, afforded a grateful shelter from the rays of the sun. The herbage and flowers were in their utmost beautiful state, having all the freshness of spring, and beginning to show the luxuriance of summer. I am told, however, that flowers in variety and abundance are to be seen in the woods here, from the first of March to the first of December. The long solitudes were peculiarly agreeable; in one instance, it being fourteen miles from one house to another. And, in three other instances, ten, eleven and twelve miles. The road from Augusta to Nashville has been a good deal travelled since it was opened through the Cherokee nation eighteen years ago, though in former years, much more than it is at present. It has been quite an object, therefore, with several white men, to furnish food and shelter to travellers. I observed that these establishments were improving, in regard to buildings, furniture and other things. In two of these houses of entertainment, I found young females, one in each, who had been members of the school at Brainerd. Their appearance was neat, becoming, and such as would be thought respectable at the house of an inn-keeper among ourselves. Supposing

that we should need refreshments, one of the girls provided tea unasked, and waited upon us in a manner creditable to her hospitality and her education. Several useful books stood upon a shelf, and she said, in answer to my inquiry, that she was fond of reading.

"It is very evident that the Cherokees are improving more rapidly at present than at any previous time. There are more instances of laborious industry among them at every returning year. There are more instances of serious inquiry after moral and religious truth. There is an increasing conviction that many of the whites sincerely wish to promote the welfare of the Indians. The best informed and more intelligent Cherokees are very favorably disposed toward the mission and school at Brainerd.

"The attempts of the Cherokees to institute civil government for themselves, adapted to their improving condition, succeed quite as well as could be expected. Their incipient jurisprudence appears to secure the respect of the people. The distribution of the legislative, judicial and executive powers of the government, is made with considerable skill and judgment. I have in my possession the details of the system, but cannot conveniently transcribe them here.

"While I was at Brainerd, a court was held for the Chickamaugah District, and a member of it reported to me the cases which were then decided.

"During my stay, I visited Mr. Charles R. Hicks, who lives at Red Clay, about seventeen miles from Brainerd. The Christian and public character of this man is well known. Though he has been confined for a long time by ill health, his mind is active and vigorous. He appears to be influenced, in his labors for the good of his country-

men, by his patriotism under the control of Christian principles. He became a member of the Moravian church about thirteen years ago.

"It deserves to be mentioned with gratitude that there has been no instance hitherto, among the Cherokee converts at Brainerd and Creek Path, of any departure from Christian conduct, as to bring scandal upon the cause, or call for censure from the church. On the contrary, all these converts discover a great desire to ascertain their duty; and, when they have learned what their duty is, an uncommon willingness to perform it."

Jeremiah Evarts' reference to the judicial districts of the Cherokee Nation directs attention to this Indian tribe's efforts to ascend higher toward civilization. These judicial districts together with their officers, as recorded in the Brainerd journal in 1822, were:

"Pathkiller .....King
Charles R. Hicks .....Second beloved man
John Ross .....President of the National Committee
Members of the Committee: George Lowrie, Richard Taylor, Cabin Smith, or Big Cabin, John Baldridge, Sleeping Rabbit, Tom Foreman, The Hare, John Beemer, Ihee-le-chu-lee, Ihur-ro-hee-bih, Roman Nose, and John Downing, Jr.
Coosawatee District. Members of the Council: Major Ridge, Speaker of the Council, William Hicks, brother of Charles R. Hicks, Terrapin Head, Rising Fawn, one vacancy.
Etowee District. Tonna-teehee, Walking Stick, The Feather, Old Turkey.
Hickory Log. Slim Fellow, Gone to Sleep, Tuh-quo, Theenah-tee-hee.

Amohee District. Going Snake, Choo-no-uh-kee, Wa-nuh-kee, Tsquh-kee.
Chickamauga District. Tah-lee-is-kee, Noisy Warrior, Three Killer, Charles Reese.
Chattooga District. Tsoo-ee-kullah, Big Rattling Gourd, Uh-nee-a-lee, Samuel Gunter.
Aquohee District. Uh-nee-ka-yah-no-hee, Tih-qunh, Woman Keeper, Kul-lo-skee.
Tawquohee District. Tsoo-a-lo-gee, Was-ta-no-hee, Amau-yee-tah, Charley.
District Judges: George Sanders, Coosawatee, Tee-as-tis-kee, Amohee, John Martin, Presiding Judge. Thomas Sanders, Hickory Log, Smallwood, Etowee; James Davis, Presiding Judge.
Tee-la-ska-is-kee, Tawquohee.
Tee-etee-es-kee, Aquohee. Richard Walker, a full blood Cherokee Presiding.
Wau-hah-tsee, Chickamauga, Daniel Griffin, Chattooga, James Brown.
Coosawatee, James Foster, Marshall.
Amohee, Archy Foreman.
Hickory Log, Wind.
Etowee, Wah-lah-nee-tah.
Tawquohee, A-lo-tsee-nos-tee.
Aquohee, O-tee-wus-kee.
Chickamauga, Nathan Hicks.
Chattooga, Davy Vann."

Charles R. Hicks was the treasurer of the Cherokee Nation in 1822, at the time the officers mentioned above were in power. The Cherokees' income from the United States that year was seventy-two hundred dollars. Their national taxes, which were referred to as "small" were

also listed as "not collected." The poll tax was fifty cents a family.

Under the Cherokee laws, each district was patroled by a select force of Cherokee officers known as the Light Horse, consisting of from six to eight men designated in a general council to apprehend all malefactors, and to keep the peace. When a theft or other offense was committed, complaint was made to the captain of the Light Horse, and the offender was sought, and if found, was arrested and brought to trial.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHICKAMAUGA CHURCH, CHEROKEE CUSTOMS, A CHEROKEE SERMON

THE American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was a Congregational organization. Its creation, which was the first foreign mission board in America, proved a remarkable stimulant throughout the Christian world. It was the consensus of the founders of the American Board that if other great denominations would form similar societies that greater things could be accomplished through coöperation. To this end, in 1811, one year after the Board was organized, the matter was brought to the attention of the Presbyterians. However, its leaders believed that one society of the kind was sufficient and adopted the Board as its foreign missionary agency. As a result of this action, in 1812, representatives from the Presbyterian churches were elected to membership on the Board. In 1826, fourteen years later, the United Foreign Missionary Society, in which the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches were interested, was merged with it. As a consequence, important leaders of the Reformed Church in America were also added to the American Board's membership.

In 1837, the "Old School" Presbyterians left the Board, and in 1839, the Southern and Central Presbyterian Boards also left it. In 1846, owing to the American Board's atti-

tude toward slavery, some of its members withdrew and formed the American Missionary Association.

The Church at Brainerd was as near nonsectarian as any Protestant church could have been at the time of its formation. It was liberal enough that its program might receive the approval of almost all the leading Protestant churches. Indeed, its program was far too broad and extensive for any one denomination. And yet, as early as the time that John Arch united with the Brainerd Church one might be led to the belief that it was copying the Moravian Church in not receiving its members into full communion until a certain period had elapsed.

Catherine Brown, the Cherokee, was the first fruit of the Brainerd Church. She was baptized January 25, 1818, and on February first, the next members were received. They were, Jane Coody and Charles Reece, both Indians.

In 1837, when the covenant of the Park Hill (Indian Territory) Church was prepared by Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, who was formerly stationed at Brainerd, he stated, "The churches in the Cherokee Nation, commonly called Presbyterian, are not as at present organized Presbyterian, but Congregational. The difference is not in doctrine, but in the mode of church government."

The records at Brainerd show that in September, 1824, the Church there, also those at Carmel, Hightower and Willstown, were received into the Union Presbytery of East Tennessee.

The First Presbyterian Church of Chattanooga was organized in 1840 as a direct outgrowth of the closing of the Brainerd Church in 1838. And, it is quite probable that the Concord Baptist Church, situated two miles east of Brainerd, which was organized soon thereafter, was also an outgrowth of the Brainerd institution.

Almost nine months elapsed after Cyrus Kingsbury

began his work at Brainerd before the Church at that place was organized, which is reported as follows:

"ARTICLES OF FAITH AND COVENANT

"*Adopted by the Chh. of Christ of Chickamaugah*

"Chickamaugah, September 28, 1817.

"Having in the providence of God been called to separate ourselves from the church of the Lord Jesus, among the heathen, and being fully convicted of the importance and necessity of a regular attention to the ordinances of the Gospel, in order to our mutual improvement, in the knowledge and the grace of God,

"We, the undersigned, have resolved in the fear of God, to associate ourselves into a Christian Church, hoping and devoutly praying that our union may not only prove the means of our own good, but also become a fold into which many of the wandering heathen around us may yet be gathered to the glory of our Great Redeemer—and for the better regulation of our conduct in the prosecution of these great ends—we adopt the following articles of faith and practice:

"ARTICLE 1

"We believe in the existence of one God who is the Creator, the Preserver and Governor of the Universe; possessed of every moral and natural perfection, and subsisting incomprehensibly in three persons, The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

"ARTICLE 2

"We believe the Bible contains a revelation of the will of God; that it was written by men inspired by the Holy Ghost, and is a sufficient and infallible rule of faith and practice.

"ARTICLE 3

"We believe that God created man holy, in his own moral image; and that by disobedience he lost his primitive purity, and became wholly sinful.

"ARTICLE 4

"We believe that God did not leave all mankind to perish in their sinful state, but has out of His mere good pleasure provided a Savior, Jesus Christ, who uniting in his own glorious person, the human and divine natures gave himself to suffer and die, a sacrifice for sin, 'that whosoever believeth in him, might not perish but have everlasting life.'

"ARTICLE 5

"We believe that such is the opposition of the natural heart to the holy nature of the Gospel, that none will embrace its gracious offers, until they are regenerated and made willing by the Holy Ghost—who alone renews and sanctifies the hearts of men.

"ARTICLE 6

"We believe that those who are regenerated are not justified, or acquitted, in the eye of that Law which requires perfect obedience on the ground of their own righteousness, but solely on the ground of Christ's righteousness of which they are made gracious partakers by faith in him.

"ARTICLE 7

"We believe that the only hope which Christians have that they shall grow in grace and persevere unto the end, is founded on the gracious promise of God that they shall be 'kept by His mighty power through faith unto salvation.'

"ARTICLE 8

"We believe that it is the duty of the followers of Christ, so far as circumstances permit, to make a public solemn covenant to observe the commandments and ordinances of the Gospel.

"ARTICLE 9

"We believe that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances of the Gospel, instituted by Christ, for the benefit of his church on earth, and as the seal of his covenant, and the earnest of their future inheritance.

"ARTICLE 10

"We believe there will be a general resurrection of the righteous and the wicked, the judge of the quick and the dead shall sentence the wicked to everlasting punishment and receive the righteous into life eternal.

"COVENANT

"We do now in the presence of the heart searching God and before Angels and Men solemnly avouch the Lord Jehovah, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be our God, our Father, our Redeemer, and our Sanctifier; and we cheerfully give up ourselves, our children and all that we have to Him to be His forever, purposing and engaging, so far as we know the state of our hearts to submit our souls, our bodies and all that concerns us to the government and disposal of His sovereign and holy pleasure for time and eternity. We do also engage by His gracious assistance, without which we can do nothing, to renounce forever, as objects of chief pursuit, the World, its pleasures, its riches, its honors, and our own private interest as infinitely inferior, in worth, in excellence, and in glory, to the worth, the excellence and the glory of the

ever-blessed God; and we do therefore accept, most cordially of Him, in His whole character, as our chief portion to enjoy, choosing His will as our will, His services as our service, and His honor and glory in all things, as the supreme object of our affection and pursuit,—and inasmuch as it hath pleased Him in His condescension and mercy, to appoint us to the sacred work of building up the Kingdom among the poor and benighted heathen, and to suffer us, as we do this day, to associate ourselves into a Christian church, we do cheerfully give ourselves to each other as brethren; promising to watch over each other in Christian love; to encourage, to counsel, to admonish, to reprove, and to assist each other, and willingly to be counseled, reproved, admonished, and assisted according to the instruction of Christ. We do further engage to submit ourselves to the discipline prescribed by the Redeemer and to the particular administration of it in the church; to observe all ordinances, and commandments of the Gospel and to do what we can to instruct by prayer, by precept and example, our children, and all others committed to our charge, and thus prepare them by the blessing of God to unite with us in the same service and joy of our glorious Redeemer. And may God enable us by His free grace, faithfully to perform our covenant engagements, which we this day renewedly make to Him, to each other, and to our fellowman.

"Even so Lord Jesus;—Amen.

"Thus we subscribe ourselves to be the Lord's and His only forever.

"CYRUS KINGSBURY,
"MOODY HALL,
"LORING WILLIAMS,
"ISABELLA HALL.

"RECORD OF THE CHURCH

"At a regular meeting of the members of the Chh. at Chickamaugah [Brainerd], September 30, 1817, our pastor, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, being present, opened the meeting with prayer, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"That this Chh. be called the Chh. of Christ at Chickamaugah.

"That there be a meeting of the brethren and sisters of this Chh. for our spiritual improvement Saturday evening of every week.

"That Brother Kingsbury prepare a joint letter to be transmitted to the Committee of the Board, and also that the Clerk draw a copy of the articles of Faith and Covenant adopted by this Chh. to accompany it.

"That there be a common journal kept of the Mission, and that it be lodged in the hands of Brother Williams.

"Adjournment after appropriate prayer by Reverend Elias Cornelius.

"A true copy from the original.

"MOODY HALL, *Clerk.*"

CUSTOMS OF THE CHEROKEES

Charles R. Hicks, the venerable Christian Cherokee chief, who was ever a most loyal friend of the missionaries, visited Brainerd in the early part of 1818 and left in writing some of the customs of his people. The missionaries regarded this information of very great importance. The following is a copy of the paper written by Mr. Hicks:

"The Cherokee people are divided into seven different clans, or classes, each having a distinct name. No one is

permitted to marry within his own clan; the children always belonging to the clan of the mother, without any respect to the father.

"Murder committed by a person of one clan on a person of another clan, is always punished by death; but if the murderer and the murdered are both of one clan, it frequently happens that the clan intercedes with the head chief of the nation, and a pardon is granted; which pardon is published in the national council when convened. The national council is composed of persons from each clan; some clans sending more, some less, according to their population, though the number is not very definitely fixed.

"Each clan has its separate portion of land, which is held in common, the poorest man having the same right as the richest. Before eating the green corn when in the milk, the people collect in their different districts and villages at night, the conjurer takes some of the grains of seven ears of corn and burns them in the fire. After this, each family is allowed to cook and eat their roasting ears. They observe the same custom before eating the bean when it begins to fill the hull.

"The green corn dance was formerly in high esteem. This is held when the corn is getting hard, and lasts four days. This is held where the National Council sits; a quantity of venison being provided to support the assembled people. It is said that formerly a person was chosen to speak to the people on each day in a language that is now very little known. At such times as the above, a piece of ground was laid off and persons appointed to occupy it; no others being allowed to use it while the feast lasted.

"There is a notion that still prevails among the Cherokees of making a new fire every year. This is generally

done in the month of March. The fire is made by drilling in a dried grape vine in the morning, after a dance all night. Seven persons are chosen to perform this with the conjurer. After this fire is made each family in the town comes and gets a new fire, putting out all the old fire in their houses.

"The physic-dance was very much in use formerly, but is partly neglected now. This belongs to the women in particular, except seven men, who are chosen out of each clan to carry the water to boil the physic, and when boiled, to carry it to the people for young and old to drink it. The physic is not drunk until the singer has proclaimed with his song, on top of the town-house, and sung, *He-yuah-wah; yauh-eau-mi,* repeating the same several times; and they have painted all the parts of this house white with clay, and danced two of the nights in seven, and in the morning, after the last night, bathed themselves in water.

"They have a similar practice of choosing men or women to represent the clan in what is called making rain. In making rain, seven men or women are chosen to represent the clan, who keep fast during the time the conjurer is about to obtain rain; and when the rain comes, he sacrifices the tongue of a deer which is procured for the purpose. The conjurer himself observes a strict fast, with frequent bathing during the time he is making rain. On such occasions, the conjurer speaks a language different from the present language of the Nation, and which few understand. They who design to follow these practices are taught the language by those who understand it.

"The Eagle-tail dance is still in use among the Cherokees. The design of this dance is to instil in the minds of the young people of the spirit of war; the old warriors

rehearsing the dance, the dangers they have passed through in attacking their enemies, the distance they have travelled, and the time they have been out. Some victuals are usually set apart for the boys to eat at daybreak, and when the boys have eaten, they go out of the town-house and are met in the entry of the house by young men who fight a battle with them, which consists in pelting them with mud collected for the purpose.

"It is also a custom to give Eagle-feathers as a token of friendship in making peace among red people. The doctors among the Cherokees suppose that cures are to be made in seven nights. During these cures the doctors are remarkably strict to keep out of the house where the patient is, such persons as have been handling a dead body, or have any other ceremonial uncleanliness."

A CHEROKEE SERMON

What kind of a sermon could a Cherokee Indian preach who was unable to speak English? John Huss was a native Cherokee who had been converted through the missionaries of Brainerd and he received all of his knowledge of the Christian religion through an interpreter. Yet he became one of their most faithful workers. When he was ordained as an evangelist at Creek Path in 1834, he presented a sermon that he had prepared without any assistance. It was written by him in the Sequoya characters and was translated into the English by Dr. Samuel A. Worcester and Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The sermon is given herewith:

"The passages which I have chosen from which to address you at this time is found in Chapter 7, the 13th and 14th verses of the Gospel written by Matthew, which I will read to you.

"Enter ye in at the strait gate, for wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to destruction, and many there be with go in thereat: Because straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

"This one thing we all know,—that we are going to another world. For multitudes of people, and many of our friends whom we have known living here upon the earth, are here no longer. In that other world they are living, for here we see them not. By this we perceive that we also are going thither.

"With the nature of that other world, to which we are going, it is desirable that we should be acquainted. It is widely different from this, which we now inhabit. Some suppose that in the other world they shall live in the same manner in which they live here,—that they shall find there the same pleasures which they enjoy on earth; that they shall attend ball-plays and all-night dances, and find various other amusements in which here they take delight. In this opinion they are grossly mistaken. How great their error is will appear by what I am about to say.

"The words which I have chosen for my text are the words of our Saviour. In them he teaches us what awaits our arrival at the other world. He tells us there are two ways,—the one leading to death, the other to eternal life. While speaking upon the subject, I ask your serious attention.

"There are these two ways for us to follow,—the one a broad way, the other narrow. This is the character of the broad way: it is an exceedingly bad way,—full of evil. The narrow way, on the other hand, is an excellent way,—a perfect way.

"There is also this distinction between the two ways:

Each has its guide; and they are widely different from each other. The broad way belongs to Satan, and he is the leader of all that walk in it. And it leads to hell, the kingdom of Satan. There is the destruction to which it leads, as spoken of in my text.

"The narrow way belongs to the eternal Son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ; and he is the leader of all who walk in it. This narrow way leads to heaven, the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. There is the eternal life, to which it leads, as spoken of in my text.

"So different, as I said, are the characters of the leaders of these two ways. For this is the character of the one,—the devil, he is exceedingly wicked,—full of sin. The other, the eternal Son of God, is without sin. I will now give you some account of the works of these two leaders of whom I have been speaking. By their works you will also perceive the wide difference which exists between them.

"In the first place, I will describe the works of the devil. He teaches men to do only evil continually. He teaches them to sin against God and to commit all manner of evil in His sight. He is led to teach men thus by his great desire that they become like himself—eternally accursed in the fire of hell. Thus he is employed teaching all manner of wickedness. For wickedness fills the ranks and attends the march of those who do the will of Satan. And on this account, perhaps, this way is denominated a broad way, because of the variety of evils committed by those who follow it.

"Such are the works of those who follow the broad way. By this you may perceive the badness of that way. I will particularize some of the wickedness of those who follow it: The way is full of malice. There go a multitude of

quarrelers, who are fighters and murderers. There go a multitude of robbers, who are murderers for the sake of gain. There go a multitude of drunkards, and they too, are murderers. There go a multitude of cheats, who take away men's property by fraud. There go a multitude of thieves. There go a multitude of adulterers; there go a multitude of fornicators; there go a multitude of liars; there go a multitude of proud men, despisers of the poor; there go a multitude who break the commandments of God, for all those whom I have enumerated are breakers of God's commandments. Yea, and all impenitent sinners are breakers of the commandments of God; for it is manifest that they do not follow them, nor desire to follow them.

"In all the works of these men Satan has an agency. Where there is most wickedness, he is best pleased. For such imitate his own example, in being a great transgressor of the law of God; and for doing thus, he thinks God will forsake them, and will drive them into my dominions, into hell, as I have been treated; and therefore, he greatly rejoices. And so, indeed, it is, if they do not turn from the way in which the devil is leading them, God will forsake them, and will banish them into hell, and into the fire prepared for the devil and all that are his.

"And now, I will describe to you the place of their abode. They will dwell in darkness and fire of hell.

"In those dreadful flames will they burn, in endless pain. And there the dreadful worm that never dies shall forever gnaw them, and there shall they groan without intermission and without end. Such is the place which is called the place of Death. Thither go all the followers of Satan. This is the termination of one way.

"Now, I will tell you something of the works of the Lord Jesus Christ. To this also listen attentively. Great

are the benefits he has conferred upon mankind. When he dwelt in his Father's house above, in boundless felicity, he left that felicity and came to this earth to suffer for the sake of the happiness of sinful men. Of his own accord he endured the sufferings of the cross, to rescue sinful men from suffering. Of his own accord he suffered the nails to be driven through his hands and feet. Of his own accord he suffered his side to be pierced with the spear. All this he suffered of his own accord; for the shedding of his blood was for the cleansing of mankind from their great transgressions. Of his own accord he died to deliver sinful men from death, and to give them, in his own kingdom, an everlasting home.

"We have evidence, also, that his power is great, and that he is a Savior indeed, for he rose again from the dead, and reascended to his Father's abode.

"These are the benefits which I said that he had conferred upon mankind. He saw this only way in which mankind could be saved from transgressions, and this he adopted. By this, too, it is manifest that he is the Savior of mankind from sin. There was no other being in existence by whom they could be saved. Thus I have told you in the first place, how great things he has done for men that he might have them for his own.

"I will now tell you what he has taught mankind to do: He has made laws for them, by the word of his own Holy Spirit, by following which they may arrive at his own residence in heaven. These laws are excellent, without any mixture of the evil. This is what is denominated the narrow way, leading to eternal life. And in that way he now commands all men to walk. And they who walk in it are those whose hearts he has sanctified.

"In regard to his sanctifying their hearts of which I

have spoken, I will mention some evidences of the truths of the doctrine: Three things are evidences that he has sanctified their hearts. He died to redeem them from their transgressions. He shed his blood to cleanse them from sin. By his spirit he has renewed their hearts. These things make it evident that he has formed their hearts anew. When their hearts are thus sanctified, then they are prepared to enter the narrow way which leads to eternal life. None can enter whose hearts are unsanctified.

"When the time of his sanctifying their hearts arrives, he says to them, Repent of your sins, and come to me, and I will renew your hearts by the Holy Spirit. Then you shall be immortal, and where I am, there shall you dwell forever. And when he renews their hearts, then they repent of their transgressions, and submit themselves to him, and become his. Then they follow the directions which he has given them, which lead them to his own abode at the right hand of his Father above. And in following these, he gives them continual aid. He helps them by his Spirit to keep in distinct recollection the various directions which he has given them. Thus he is truly their leader in the way which conducts to eternal life in his kingdom above.

"And here is evidence of the perfect holiness of the law which he has given. He says, 'Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not be contentious. Thou shalt not be a thief. Thou shalt not be a drunkard.' All these things are not all his commandments; there are many others, but all perfect and right. Thus he teaches mankind in order that they may become his.

"And now I will describe to you the place at which

those arrive who follow the narrow way of Jesus, the eternal son of God. They will live where is great beauty and glory and happiness. There they will be no longer liable to sickness, and no longer liable to death. And no source of trouble shall exist there. No enemy shall dwell there. Where God is, there shall they be. There the sun shall no longer give them light, but they shall dwell in the light of God. And there they shall dwell together with their true friends, their Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ. And there the saints, the angels, the original inhabitants, and all the saints who were once inhabitants of the earth, shall dwell together there. There shall they unite together in praising God and His Son; and sweet will be the sound. Such being the case, it is evident that their state of existence will be most delightful.

"Such is the termination of the narrow way, leading to eternal life which is spoken of in my text.

"Thus you have plainly exhibited before you the character of the places to which these two ways conduct. The one leads to a place of great misery. The other leads to a place of the greatest glory. And now consider, each one of you, what path you are pursuing. If you are following the broad way, you are now called upon to enter the narrow way leading to eternal life, of which you have this day heard. And the case of every one of you is this: though you are travelling towards the termination of these paths, it is as if you were standing at the entrance of them, and it is now left to your choice into which you will enter. Now, then, my friends, I ask you, what will you do? For if you refuse to enter the narrow way, you chose the broad way which leads to death. Will you also, as multitudes do, choose the road to death? Remember that if you die pursuing the broad way, you will arrive

at hell, where you will have no friends, for there all are enemies to each other. If you arrive at that place, you will dwell in great and endless misery. You will suffer extreme torment, and not a friend will be there. While you are yet on earth, whenever you are in pain, you want friends; and they come to your aid. But when you suffer pain in hell, not one will come to relieve you,—all will be your enemies. Think, therefore, of our Savior, who is your friend, indeed. For I have told you that he suffered much to relieve you from the miseries of hell. And I tell you that those who repent of their sins and submit themselves to him, become his. And consider: If you do not repent of your sins against God, and submit yourselves to our Savior, can you expect to escape the pains of hell? And, who, do you flatter yourselves, is able to deliver you? If you are without this Savior, you are without a Savior indeed. If then, you would enter this narrow way, you are to repent of your sins; you are to forsake all those actions which are displeasing to our God. None can pass through the gate of that narrow way unless he repents of his transgressions and forsakes everything which is evil in the sight of God. Then you will pass the narrow way, arriving at the dwelling place of your true friend, our Savior, and dwell without end.

"And now I exhort you, turn your course from the kingdom of Satan and set your face toward the kingdom of our Savior. I hope, my friends, that God will enable you to find that kingdom."

CHAPTER X

QUOTATIONS FROM THE JOURNAL

SOME of the seemingly uninteresting events at the time of their occurrence may in later years prove of great historical value. Such items may not be regarded as important at the time they are recorded, but centuries may increase their worth. A few of the selections that are quoted from the Brainerd journal may appear to have little value, except to give a human touch to the rest of the chapter, as, for instance:

"March 15, 1820. Crossing the Chickamaugah with a wagon load of corn, the boat was driven by the current with such violence against a tree as to throw the horses out of it. Their hinder parts being kept upon the edge of the boat by the harness, their heads were plunged under the water, and before they could possibly be extricated, one of them, a fine mare from New Jersey, was drowned."

In the year 1820, Milo Hoyt, son of Ard Hoyt, the superintendent of the Brainerd Mission, married an amiable and distinguished Cherokee convert, Lydia Lowry. She was the daughter of Major George Lowry, a prominent Cherokee chief. By the marriage, Milo became entitled to all the privileges of a native Cherokee, and it was his belief that by having a situation near the mission, or in an eligible place for a local school, that he could support himself and render as effective service to the mission as if he were serving directly under the Board.

"April 3, 1820. Milo Hoyt and his wife set out for their new station on Chatooga creek. They took Darius Hoyt with them. Brother Vail went along and took such articles of household goods and provisions as were sent from this place. Chatooga is about sixty miles south by west from Brainerd, and about the same distance from Creek Path and from Taloney, in Georgia.

"April 10. Meeting for business. The millwright having this day examined several places which have been thought of for the mill, gives it as his decided opinion, that there is but one place where a dam can be made to stand. At this place the creek is not wide, and a firm rock extends from bank to bank, rising on each side of the creek. The only objection to this place, is, there is not sufficient fall to place the mill near the dam, and we must be at the expense of digging a trench about three-quarters of a mile. But when done, it is thought the whole will be permanent, and a saw-mill, grist-mill, or any other water works that may ever be wanted may be built within a few rods of the mission house, with plenty of water at all times, and without the least danger from the flood, which in this creek is at times very powerful. If a millrace is cut here, it will inclose in the bend of the creek about 300 acres of good farm land, which will require but very little fence on the bank of the creek.

"April 12. Meeting for business. As it will be wholly impracticable to do our cooking as it ought to be done in one small kitchen, if we bring into our present family all the laborers it will be necessary to employ, in order to proceed with our enlarged business; and as it is of some importance that the laborers should have their time for eating and prayer, Resolved, that we put up two small log houses between the mission house and the creek, and that

a part of the mission family live there and cook for the laborers."

STARTING THE MISSION AT CREEK PATH

"April 13, 1820. Received a letter from brother Butrick, dated the 8 instant. It was truly welcome, as we had heard nothing from him since the 3d day after he left us, which is now a full month. The prospects at Creek Path are hopeful. He writes:

" 'When we left Brainerd, we lost our path, traveled till sometime after dark, and came to a road near Little Meat's. We stopped and were greatly refreshed by the kindness of our dear Cherokee friends.

" 'On Monday, we traveled to Mr. Pardue's, visited Pathkiller on the way. Tuesday to Mr. Burns's; got a recruit of provisions. Wednesday to a large hickory blown down by the wind, where we had a very comfortable lodging. Thence to Mr. Scott's. Friday to a large whiteoak log in the woods, between Shoat's and Cox's. Sunday, to Captain J. Brown's. We told him our business, and he informed others. Sabbath, we came to his father's where we were kindly received, but it being late in the day, we had no meeting. Monday Captain Brown told me he had seen the chiefs, that they were glad we had come, and wished me to accompany him next day, select a place for the schoolhouse, and meet them at an appointed place. On Tuesday I went with Mr. Brown, but referred it to him to say where the house should be. He selected a place. We met the chiefs, and I told my errand. They told me they would do as I had stated, and appointed the next Friday to begin the house. On that day, they assembled, old men and children. They cut the timber, and put up the house,

making the inside 22 feet by 17. Saturday they made the boards without a saw, covered the roof, put up most of the chimney, cut out the door, split part of the puncheons for the floor, put in the steps, and hewed down the house inside. I think the house is nearly quite as high as that at Brainerd. We appointed a meeting on the next day.

" 'Sabbath we met. Perhaps 30 Cherokees and a number of black people were present.

" 'On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, a less number worked on the house, made a good floor, hearth and back, finished laying up the chimney, chinked the house and made benches. Thursday, we began school having eight scholars the first three days.

" 'On the Sabbath, we attended meeting. About 70 Cherokees attended. I began Sunday School for the blacks with about 15 scholars. Monday about 20 scholars came; since then, we have had this week 27. Old Mr. Gunter told me to-day he expected to send 10 in a month from this time. Last night the people had a talk. The old Path-killer advised them to be attentive to our instruction, and to give their children into our care, telling them that they must continue their children with us at least four years in order to profit them.'

"May 21, 1820. Mrs. Sally McDonald being about to remove into the neighborhood of the church of which Rev. John Gambold is pastor at Springplace, a letter was directed to be given recommending her to the fellowship of that church, after authorizing a dismission from this church. She appeared much affected at the prospects of removing from us.

"May 25. The Reverend Remembrance Chamberlain on a missionary tour under the direction of the General

Assembly, called on us. He brought a letter from Dr. Waddell, President of the college in Athens, Georgia, inclosing $77.00, a donation from the Auxiliary Mission Society in Madison, Morgan County, Georgia. He also brought from a charity box of the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, $20.00. This money came truly in a time of need; our treasury was exhausted, and we knew not how we were to answer our call for money to-morrow.

"May 31, 1820. Sister Catherine Brown left us in company with her father to go to Creek Path to teach a school of females. How very different the scene from that which passed here not quite two years ago, when her father required her to leave the society of Christians to accompany him to the then dark shades of the Arkansas! Now, he does not ask her without our consent! Catherine was received to this school July 9, 1817; baptized January 25, 1818, and admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper March 29, 1818."

THE VISIT OF ADAM HODGSON

"June 1, 1820. Adam Hodgson, Esquire, a merchant recently from Liverpool, England, called on us with an introductory letter from Cyrus Kingsbury. He left the mission at Elliott, Mississippi, on the 20 of last month, having been travelling ten days, as he rested on the Sabbath.

"June 2. Mr. Hodgson left us early this morning to prosecute his journey, leaving many tokens of his good wishes and ardent zeal in the cause of missions."

After returning to England, Mr. Hodgson wrote an account of his journey among the Indians and the missions in the United States, which was published in

his country. The following is his record of his visit at Brainerd:

"In passing through the northern part of Alabama, I was particularly struck with the rapidity with which the country had been settled. It is little more than two years since these public lands were sold. At that time not a tree was felled. Now the road is skirted with beautiful fields of cotton and Indian corn, from eighty to a hundred and twenty miles extent. I found that there were schools and opportunities for public worship within a convenience distance. I was gratified by receiving the same information throughout East Tennessee.

"In passing the Cumberlands, Raccoon and Lookout Mountains, we were delighted with a succession of romantic scenery, sometimes exhibiting the extended outline of a Highland prospect; at others, presenting many of the interesting features of a home view, in the neighborhood of Windermere or Keswick.

"At the foot of the Cumberland Mountains we slept in a solitary hut, where we found a neat old woman, of 70 or 80 years of age, very busily engaged in spinning. A young clergyman, who had been visiting Brainerd, was also driven in by a heavy rain, and his offers to conduct family worship were thankfully accepted by our hostess and her son.

"We reached Brainerd early on the first of June, and remained till the following morning. The manner of proceeding was so similar to that at the mission at Elliott, Mississippi, that it is unnecessary to describe it. Indeed, this institution was originally formed by some of the missionaries who afterward went on to establish the settlement at Elliott.

"The number of Cherokee children amounted to about

eighty, and, in addition, were two little Osage Indians, who had been rescued from captivity.

"I was informed here that many of the Indians evinced at first an indisposition to labor in the field, especially as the females were entirely exempted from the task; but they soon acquiesced, and exhibited, on this occasion, docility and good humor, of which their teachers represent them as possessing a more than common share. One of the chiefs offered to find a slave who should work all day if the missionaries would excuse his son from agricultural labor between school hours, but he was easily convinced of his mistake and apologized for his ill-judged request.

"I was much gratified by hearing the children sing their Cherokee hymns, and many ancient prophesies came forcibly to my recollection, when joining in this Indian country, with Americans, Indians and Africans, in singing the following verse of one of our hymns:

> Let every nation, every tribe
> On this terrestrial ball,
> To Him full majesty ascribe,
> And crown Him Lord of all.

"Some negroes attended family prayers, and many came from considerable distance to public worship on Sunday. I was told, indeed, that there were instances of their walking twenty miles over the mountains and returning the same day."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

"June 23, 1820. Resolved, that we think it best to build a grist-mill this season, and that a statement of the probable expense be forwarded to the Prudential Committee for their approbation.

"June 24. Brother Chamberlain went to Charles R. Hicks at Red Clay for the purpose of conversing with him on the subject of apprentices to the blacksmith trade, and to confer on some method to be adopted for recovering the expense which may hereafter be incurred for scholars who leave the school before they have finished.

"June 26. Brother Chamberlain returned. He had an interesting meeting with several of the chiefs who were providentially present. He preached twice on the Sabbath to a very attentive audience. The chief, called The Boot, who visited us with the Pathkiller last season, was present. He told brother Chamberlain that he believed all he heard was true. He said, when a person fell asleep and had an interesting dream, he would remember it, and tell it to his friends; now he had heard these things, he would remember them and tell them to his people. He would tell the Pathkiller how providentially and happily he met with the missionary and heard his talk. He said neither he nor the Pathkiller understood what the motives of the missionaries were, until they visited us last season; and that when they found we were teaching the children about the things of another world, they were very glad; and from that time they had both been convinced that the motives of the missionaries were good, and he hoped their children would all grow up in the knowledge of those things which he had been hearing. On the subject of the apprentices to the blacksmith business, the chiefs gave it as their decided opinion that the boys should be bound to us for a certain time, and that the chiefs should see that they were not taken away within that time.

"July 5. One end of the milldam gave way. The millwright supposed he had driven the timbers to the rock. It now appears that what he took to be a rock was only

gravel. The water found its way under and carried away the bank about a rod wide. This is a painful disappointment, and the repair will necessarily require considerable additional expense. It is, however, a favorable circumstance that the mistake has been discovered so early. The water is low, and we hope to be able to guard against the disaster in the future.

"July 20. A Cherokee woman called and left two girls in the school. They were very unwilling to stay. They clung fast to their mother, who, seeing she could not well get rid of them, desired Mrs. Hoyt to take them away out of sight. The children screamed and cried very much, but the mother put on the fortitude to leave them in that situation. When we consider how much parents indulge their children in this country, we are surprised that they appear so desirous of leaving them at school in those cases where the children are unwilling to stay.

"September 4. Received $32 from the Bardstown (Kentucky) Baptist Missionary Society, remitted us through the agency of Reverend Mr. Eagleton of Kingston, Tennessee."

THE MISSION INVENTORY

On October 1, 1820, the following report was made to the Secretary of War of the property and value belonging to the Brainerd Mission:

13 horses,	$765.00
6 yoke of oxens,	300.00
37 cows, 29 at Brainerd,	370.00
32 calves, 24 at Brainerd,	96.00
60 young neat cattle,	420.00
37 sheep,	67.00
250 hogs, 200 at Brainerd,	750.00
70 acres of land cleared,	700.00

Axes, grubbing hoes, plows, and other tools,	274.00
Three double wagons and harness,	275.00
One single wagon and harness,	50.00
One cart,	25.00
Saddles and bridles,	120.00
Rifle gun,	20.00
Fish-trap, well and garden,	200.00
Bridge over arm of millpond and canoes,	55.00
Farm house and other buildings,	550.00
Warehouse and road to it,	50.00
Buildings at Taloney,	800.00
Iron, steel and paint on hand,	95.00
Carpenter tools and other tools,	650.00
Turning lathe and tools,	60.00
Library,	500.00
Beds, spinning wheels and furniture,	1620.00
Mill, unfinished, present value,	3000.00
Total	$11,812.00

In making up the above valuations, the missionaries at Brainerd did not place as high an estimate on the fish trap as that made by the treasurer of the American Board. This fish trap was formed by a partial dam and was built in 1817. Jeremiah Evarts, the treasurer, estimated its worth at five hundred dollars, or equal to the original price that was paid for the improvements on the Brainerd property. The fish were caught during the night as they passed down the stream. On the morning of Mr. Evarts' arrival, forty fishes, aggregating one hundred and fifty pounds, were removed from the trap. On another morning while Mr. Evarts was visiting at Brainerd, one hundred and fifty fishes were taken from the trap, weighing from five to ten pounds each. They were caught at all seasons of the year except during high water.

"November 1, 1820. Brother and sister Chamberlain

returned. He left Mrs. Chamberlain at Father Gambold's while he attended the council. At the council he took lodging with Major Ridge's, where he had the opportunity of preaching to a large number of Cherokees. The Ridge says he can never be thankful enough to the missionaries for providing a way for his son to receive an education; and he hopes that his son will remain at Cornwall until he finishes his education.

"The Cherokee council have made a law to compel parents to keep their children at school, when once started, until they have finished their education, or to pay all expense for clothing, board or tuition. They have also given the superintendents of each mission authority to take out of their schools such children as they shall think proper, and, with the consent of their parents, put them to such trades as are attached to their missions, and when such children have learned a trade, they are to be furnished with a set of tools at the expense of the Nation.

"They have also divided their country into eight districts, or counties, laid a tax on the people to build a court house in each of these counties, and appointed four circuit judges. The Cherokees are rapidly adopting the laws and manners of the whites. They appear to advance in civilization just in proportion to their knowledge of the Gospel.

"January 25, 1821. Very clear but excessively cold. We were obliged to divide the boys into small parties and send them into the cabins to be instructed by monitors, except what could sit near the fire in the school-house. We feel the cold as sensibly as we should in the northern States.

"February 2, 1821. Brother Butler went to the warehouse to purchase flour for the Mission. Before he accomplished his business it was dark. He endeavored to

return, but found it impracticable, as he could not see the road himself, and his horse could not keep it. Finding himself lost in a wet swampy place, where it was not convenient either to sit or to lie on the ground, he sat on his horse during the whole night, and this morning, finding the road some distance from him, returned.

"February 5. Sister Conger was delivered of three children, two daughters and a son. The son scarcely entered this stage of life before he was called into eternity.

"Resolved that Catherine Brown be requested to teach the girl's school at Creek Path (Guntersville, Alabama), till the other teacher goes to that place, and that she be supported as a missionary while thus employed.

"February 19, 1821. Dr. Elizur Butler left to visit Mrs. John Gambold at Springplace, Georgia.

"February 20. Dr. Butler returned and brought the mournful tidings of the decease of our dear Mother Gambold. She died about ten minutes before his arrival. That pious, humble, devoted missionary is no more. We weep, we mourn, we rejoice. O that a double portion of her spirit may rest on many daughters of Israel.

"March 10. Father Hoyt received a letter from New Orleans, requesting him to meet Dr. Worcester at Mayhew, Mississippi in the Choctaw Nation, between the 20th and 25th of this month.

"March 12th. Resolved that Mr. John Vail accompany Father Hoyt to drive and take charge of the horses, and sister Anna Hoyt, to assist and pay all necessary attention to him, on account of his ill health. Father Hoyt, Mr. Vail and Anna Hoyt left us for Mayhew. Mrs. Potter goes with them as far as Creek Path.

"March 22. Darius Hoyt, who had been dangerously ill a considerable time, we hope is some better."

After Ard Hoyt removed to Willstown Mission, his son Darius became the schoolmaster at that place; and after the Cherokees were removed West, Darius removed to Maryville, Tennessee, and became a pastor of a Presbyterian Church. He died and was buried at the New Providence cemetery in Maryville.

"March 30. By an unusual rain the Tennessee has risen much higher than it was in December last. Several hundred bushels of corn in the warehouse and in a crib have been sometime under water. The corn we thought secure, as no flood to our knowledge, ever covered the ground where it was stored.

"April 4. Mrs. Hoyt was taken very sick and thought to be dying. The family was called in, but she appears better this morning. Her sickness is doubtless occasioned, in a great measure, by her fatigue and care with her son, Darius. Darius is mending very slowly.

"April 16. This being the day appointed for the examination of the schools, most of the parents of the children were present, and several others. We dressed the children decently, and first examined the girls' school; then walked in procession to the boys' schoolhouse and examined their school. We thought the children appeared well. All present seemed highly pleased with their improvement. After examination, most of the children left us to spend the vacation at their respective homes."

The Brainerd Mission School had the distinction of being the first school in North America to give instruction in systematic and scientific agriculture, also trades, domestic science, and domestic arts.

"May 13. Milo Hoyt, having left the school in charge of his brother Darius, came up from Chatooga. He performed the journey in one day. Cows for milk, and certain

other articles of food, cannot be obtained there, as was expected, and he was obliged to return for supplies. Appearances there, at present, are very different from those at Creek Path.

"May 17. The persons have been detected who broke open the trunk last winter, and the captain of the Light Horse wishes to know what articles were missing. By the Light Horse, among the Cherokees, are intended a select number of six or eight men in each district, designated in a General Council to apprehend all malefactors, and keep the peace. When a theft is committed, complaint is made to some captain of the Light Horse who exerts himself to detect the offender."

DR. SAMUEL WORCESTER COMES TO BRAINERD

Dr. Samuel Worcester was one of the founders and the first corresponding secretary of the American Board. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1795, and was for several years pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Massachusetts. On making the trip to Brainerd, he traveled by boat from Boston to New Orleans and thence across the country the rest of the way. On May 5, 1845, his bones were removed from the Brainerd cemetery to Harmony Grove cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts. He was an uncle of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester who came to Brainerd a few years later.

"May 19. Father Hoyt, Anna Hoyt and Mr. Vail returned from Mayhew (Mississippi). We were surprised to see them without Dr. Worcester. They left him at Mayhew on the 3d instant in a very feeble state of health. They made a short stay at Creek Path.

"May 25, 1821. Dr. Worcester arrived this day. He left Mayhew on the 7 of this month, and was detained at

Russellville, a small village in Alabama, about 118 miles from Mayhew, partly on account of the sickness of Dr. Pride, his attendant, who was attacked with intermittent fever. Dr. Pride, being unable to proceed, a man was hired to take his place. Dr. Worcester, notwithstanding his extreme debility, travelled without further intermission until he reached Brainerd, a distance of fully 200 miles. It appears to him, and to us, almost a miracle, that he has been sustained to perform such a journey, being at the time of his arrival unable to support himself on his feet, or even to stand by leaning on another. He was brought in the arms of two brethren from the carriage to the house. For a few moments, he was supported in a chair, but was soon obliged to take a bed. It was observed to him, 'that he got almost through the wilderness.' To which he replied, 'This may be true in more respects than one. God has been very gracious to me, as it were by miracle thus far, and granted one great desire of my soul in bringing me to Brainerd; and if it were agreeable to His holy purposes that I should leave my poor remains here, His will be done.' He said further, 'I had rather leave my poor remains here than at any other place.'

"We hope, however, after a little rest from the fatigues of such a journey, with such medicines and cordials as will be found here, his strength may be recruited, and, in due time, his health be restored.

"May 27. Sabbath. At the request of Dr. Worcester, the members of the church and some of the congregation, were introduced to him, and being raised in bed, addressed them in a few words. His address, though short, was peculiarly feeling and interesting. As the people left the room, he overheard one say to the children, 'He is very feeble, you cannot see him now; you shall see him another

time.' Immediately he said, 'Oh, they want to see me? Let them come in.' One said, 'You are too feeble; it may be injurious.' He replied with tears, 'I want to see all my dear children and take them by the hand.' The children were then called in. He took each child by the hand as they passed his bed. Having all passed around in procession, they stood and sang a hymn. He was affected to tears most of the time. After the hymn, he addressed them in a most affectionate manner, which in turn melted them to tears.

"May 30. Dr. Worcester was desirous to ride out, thinking it might be beneficial. At his request, he was removed to the piazza, and was refreshed with a mild breeze. This was the first time he had left his room after his arrival.

"June 1, 1821. He requested Mr. Chamberlain to look over his bills of expense from Natchez to Brainerd, and put them in order in his memorandum book that his accounts might be left intelligible to his friends. He was able to direct their entry; and, having kept no account for the last sixty miles, was able to give particulars from memory. This is the only business he has been able to attend to since his arrival, except to settle with the man who accompanied him from Russellville, Alabama.

"June 2. This morning he requested Father Hoyt to write to Mrs. Worcester. Being asked if he would direct what should be written, he mentioned the time of his departure from Mayhew, and some occurrences by the way until the time of his arrival here and added, 'for the rest, write as you think proper.'

"Towards evening two chiefs arrived and informed us that by appointment the chiefs from different parts of the Nation were soon to meet here and welcome their friend. He was too feeble to see them to-day.

"June 3. Sabbath. This day we were again permitted to meet around the table of our Lord. After meeting, the chiefs who called on us yesterday, were introduced to Dr. Worcester. He spoke a few words which were interpreted to them.

"June 5. Our dear friend is evidently fast going to the eternal world. In the morning, we gave up all hopes of his recovery. For short intervals during the day, he has been in a state of mental derangement, but even in this state his mind was employed on the great subject of building churches.

"June 6. During the day he has been insensible to pain. He rejoiced that he had been able to do something in the missionary cause. We learn that the chiefs generally delayed their appointed visit to Dr. Worcester on account of information that he was unable to converse.

"June 7. With reluctance we enter upon the events of the day. Our pen stops. Involuntary tears darken our eyes. We seek where to weep. We enter our closets and weep there. We resume the task. Our weakened hands refuse to perform their office. We look at each other and say, who shall communicate the melancholy tidings? A solemn silence casts a still darker shade over the gloomy scene. O, ye daughters of Israel, weep for the heathen! Let friends of the mission hang their harps upon the willows, and for a moment suspend their songs. But will not some Elisha be found to seize the mantle of this departed Elijah; and with a double portion of his spirit, revive the hopes of the heathen world? Is not our Immanuel still head over all things of the church? And will not he accompany the heralds of salvation even to the end of the world? This morning, about seven o'clock, he cast his eyes towards heaven, and smiling, resigned his spirit to God. Without

the least apparent pain or struggle, he fell asleep in the arms of Jesus. The funeral exercises are to be attended day after to-morrow at ten o'clock.

"June 9. Many of the Cherokees, some from considerable distances, came to perform the last act of kindness to their friend and benefactor. We walked in procession to the grave, and consigned to its last rest, till the great rising day, the body of our dear deceased. We then repaired to the school-house, where a letter from brother Hicks to the Cherokees present, concerning Dr. Worcester, was read, and an appropriate sermon preached by Father Hoyt from Psalms CXII. 6,—The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

CHAPTER XI

THE FOREIGN MISSION SCHOOL

ABOUT November, 1816, the American Board voted to establish in Cornwall, Connecticut, The Foreign Mission School where young men of promise from the various countries where its foreign missionaries were stationed, might have an opportunity for acquiring an education. It was believed that educated and trained natives on their return to their homes might prove more powerful leaders than the American missionaries themselves. The school was opened in 1817, the same year of the opening of the Brainerd Mission.

When the Foreign Mission School was begun, it had about a dozen pupils enrolled. It was in existence about nine and a half years, during which time more than a hundred pupils attended.

A report from the Foreign Mission School bearing the date of February 11, 1818, contains the following items of interest in connection with the Brainerd Mission:

"Four Indian youths, a Choctaw and three Cherokees have recently been placed in this institution. They are from fourteen to sixteen years of age. The Choctaw is a half-breed, who has never had any advantage of schooling, but who has been brought up in habits of industry, and now applies himself to letters with the utmost assiduity. Two of the Cherokees have attended Mr. Gambold's school at Springplace, Georgia, and are able to read and

write and parse the English language. They have also made some progress in arithmetic. Their fathers are half-breeds, and their mothers are full-blooded Cherokees. One is the son of Charles R. Hicks, whose character is well known; the other is a nephew of a distinguished chief called The Ridge. These youths speak the English language well, and would not be suspected by their pronunciation of being any other than English descent. The remaining youth is a full-blooded Cherokee, who has been about six months a member of the school at Brainerd. He can read in an easy lesson, and has made considerable progress in pronouncing English. The name of the Choctaw is McKee Folsom. Of the Cherokees, are Leonard Hicks, Elias Boudinot and Thomas Basil. The two latter names were given out of respect to the President of the American Bible Society, and another friend to the cause. The Indian names are *Kul-le-gee-nah* and *Taw-soo-wah,* which signifies Buck and Red-bird.

"These youths have travelled on horseback, under the care of Reverend Elias Cornelius and the Treasurer of the Board, Jeremiah Evarts. They were treated with great kindness on the way by a multitude of enlightened and benevolent persons. When passing through Washington, they called on the President of the United States. Every person of this character to whom the plans of the Board were stated in regard to our aborigines, was gratified with these plans and wished ardently for their success. An interest was generally felt for the tribes of our wilderness, and the opinion was often expressed that now is the favorable time to communicate the blessings of Christianity and civilization to them."

A program was given for the benefit of the public in 1820 at Cornwall Foreign Mission School, at the time of

the examination of the pupils. On the program for that occasion, appeared the names of John Ridge and Elias Boudinot of Brainerd, each of whom delivered a declamation in English. The program concluded with a dialogue entitled, "The Cherokee Council Respecting the Removal of the Tribe West."

THE CHEROKEE STUDENTS

According to the records kept at the Foreign Mission School, not all of the Cherokees who attended the school were regarded as very promising. The honest and sincere purpose of the teachers at Brainerd and Cornwall gave them the frankness that characterizes the writers of the old books of the Bible, who made no attempt to conceal the sins of their leaders no matter how prominent they were. Their vices as well as their virtues were boldly laid bare before the public.

David Brown, whose name appears first on the list of Cherokee students at Cornwall, was a brother of Catherine Brown who figured so prominently in the Brainerd Mission. David assisted a Mr. Pickering in constructing an alphabet for the Cherokees and proposed to publish a grammar for which the Board had appropriated five hundred dollars. However, Sequoya's alphabet upset these plans. It must be stated that the Cherokees regarded David Brown as their best scholar, and insisted that he should translate the New Testament with the assistance of their most skillful orators. Charles R. Hicks insisted that Brown should make the translation direct from the Greek which David Brown had learned while in school at Andover, and on September 27, 1825, the translation from the Greek into the Cherokee by a Cherokee was finished. There was no type at that time in the Cherokee alphabet, and Brown's

translation, then in the form of a manuscript, was circulated widely, which proved of great service to the missionaries. Later on David Brown studied for the ministry, but died at Creek Path on September 15, 1829. Thousands of Cherokee people remembered him with great affection, and his loss was keenly felt throughout the Nation.

From the records kept at the Foreign Mission School, the following personal sketches of the Cherokee students were taken:

David Brown, whose Indian name is A-wih, was born in Wills Valley, Alabama. He had helped prepare a Cherokee spelling book. A brother of his was a chief and a judge; his father was half white. David had been in school and wanted to become a minister. His age was nineteen and he came from the church at Brainerd. He helped in the preparation of a Cherokee grammar, and spoke in many cities. He studied Hebrew and divinity, and went to Andover, and then back home where he became prominent in the Cherokee Nation. He was a clerk of a delegation in Congress. He was in the Cornwall School in 1820-1823.

James Fields was a kinsman of David Brown. He was in the Cornwall School from 1820-1823. He was partly white; wealthy and foppish. He paid for his own schooling but was not very proficient. Later on, he was reported as "taking care of his considerable property."

Elias Boudinot, whose Indian name is Kul-le-gee-nah, Kill-kee-nah, and many other forms of spelling, meaning "The Buck," was named for Elias Boudinot, President of the American Bible Society, whom he visited. He attended school at Chickamauga (Brainerd), and looked the Indian. He was a nephew of Major Ridge. He spoke good English and was in school at Cornwall from 1818 to

1822, being fifteen years of age on entering. He went to Andover, returned and taught. He published and edited the *Cherokee Phoenix,* at New Echota, Georgia. He married Harriet Ruggles Gold in Cornwall, Connecticut, and after her death at New Echota, married Delight Sargent, one of the missionaries at Brainerd. Both of his wives were prominent white women. He was murdered with the two Ridges in Indian Territory for signing the treaty at New Echota.

Leonard Hicks was in the Cornwall School from 1818 to 1821. He was a son of Charles Renatus Hicks, a Cherokee who figured so prominently in the affairs of his nation, and who was the first convert at the Moravian Mission at Springplace, Georgia. He was a half-breed. His mother was a full-blooded Cherokee. He was a clerk of the Nation. Rev. Daggett, second principal of the Cornwall School, said Leonard Hicks would disappoint his friends. He regarded him a trifler, inattentive and when he became homesick, he was allowed by his father to return home. His father was the most influential man in the Cherokee Nation.

William Kirkpatrick came to the Cornwall School in 1822 and died the following year. He was named for William Kirkpatrick of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who supported him. He was uncommonly bright, but was ill when he entered school.

John Ridge was akin to Elias Boudinot, and was a son of Major Ridge, commander of the Cherokees in the Seminole War, who visited Cornwall. He was a large, tall man in white top-boots. John did not look the Indian. He had a hip disease here, in which he was nursed by the Northrup family, and from which he limped for ten years. He married Sarah B. Northrup. He was a rich politician,

a lawyer, and had a son, John Rollin Ridge, who published a volume of poems and was at one time a California editor. Ridge was murdered, as was his father. He was at the Cornwall School in 1818-1822. He paid his own expenses. The family name came from Missionary Ridge.

David Carter, whose Cherokee name was Ta-wah, was in Cornwall School in 1823-24. He came from Brainerd, and was a grandson of Nathaniel Carter of Killingsworth and Cornwall. His father was carried off by the Indians when a child, and he chose to remain with them and married a Cherokee. He became editor of the *Cherokee Advocate,* and was judge of the Supreme Court, and a very influential man in the Nation. He died about 1863. He was dismissed, he knew not why, and lived in Goshen, Massachusetts, a while, probably with his aunt.

David Steiner Tawcheecy, or D. Steiner. His Indian name was Tawcheecy. He was in the Cornwall School in 1819 to 1822. He was an interpreter for the missionaries. David was in poor health and unstable in character. While he was attending the Foreign Mission School, another pupil stole seven dollars from him.

Thomas Basil whose Indian name was To-tsu-wha or Tools-oo-wan, was named for Deacon Thomas Basil of Lansingburg, New York. He had been in school at Chickamauga (Brainerd). His age was about fifteen. He came on horseback in 1818 and remained until 1822. He returned with five others in care of Rev. D. Bascom, by way of Augusta, Georgia. He was an interpreter. In 1825, he was called intemperate by Evarts and was under censure of the Church. He married a heathen. He followed the trade of a blacksmith. The Government paid for his schooling, one hundred dollars per year. He was of ordinary talents.

John Sanders, whose Indian name was Tsa-nih, was in school from 1823 to 1824. A white man by the name of Sanders went to Taloney, Georgia, about 1773 and had five sons who were ignorant and barbarous, opposing the missionaries, but gradually they were won to Christianity. Twenty-one of the family entered the Church and six of them became lay preachers. John was one of the most unpromising of the Cherokees. Rev. Daggett of the Cornwall School wrote that he was fretful, of moderate talents, but showed some improvement. After leaving the school, he was unfriendly to it. About 1837 he moved West and was a quiet farmer and stayed on the farm. When the Civil War broke out, he was an old man. Most of the Cherokeees sided with the South. He aided Fields, a wounded Confederate, after a skirmish near-by, and the next day a company of Union soldiers shot him to death in his own door.

John Vann was in the Cornwall School in 1820 and remained there until 1822. He was a son of Clement Vann, a white man and wife Mary Christiana, an early convert. He became disaffected and joined the Moravians who presently found him a "poor ignorant, indecent Indian," though he was of influential connections and for a time editor of the *Cherokee Advocate.*

TWO CHEROKEE ROMANCES

Cornwall citizens became greatly agitated when it was reliably rumored that John Ridge, a Cherokee pupil, was engaged to be married to Sarah B. Northrup, a prominent white girl. This excitement was intensified over a second rumor that Elias Boudinot was also engaged to be married to Harriet Ruggles Gold, daughter of Colonel Gold, a prominent Cornwall citizen. There had been about eighty-

five such marriages reported in the South and little notice taken of the intermarriages of the two races, yet great was the demonstration that was made in the Connecticut town when it became known that the Cherokees were to marry white girls. In expressing their indignation, the citizens burnt Miss Gold, Mrs. Northrup and Sarah in effigy.

In a manuscript left by Mrs. Ellen M. Gibbs, a daughter of Eunice Woodworth (Mrs. James Taylor), the following detailed account is given of the two love affairs:

"A Foreign Mission School was opened in Cornwall, Litchfield County, Connecticut, in 1817. Mr. Northrup kept the boarding house. Mrs. Northrup had the care of the students in her family. It was a charity school for the Indians and white pupils from foreign countries. Many boxes of clothing were sent to Mrs. Northrup to be distributed where they were most needed. Some scholars were rich and defrayed their own expenses. There was a piece of ground containing several acres called "The Garden" where every pupil morning and night worked his piece of ground. Students from several Indian tribes attended the school, and many young white men learned their language and went home with them as missionaries. I do not recollect the names of all the different tribes, but the Cherokees, Choctaws, Oneidas, and the Sandwich Islands were represented.

"The month of May every year there was a public exhibition. It was a grand affair. The Indian pupils appeared so graceful and genteel on the stage that the white pupils appeared uncouth beside them. The Indians sang and prayed in their native tongue. When they prayed, they knelt, clasped both hands together and held them up. When they sang, they sat in a row and all waved their hands simultaneously.

"They never were allowed to go beyond a certain limit from the school, never into people's dwellings without an invitation.

"Among the students was a Cherokee, John Ridge, the son of a chief. John was a noble youth, beautiful in appearance, very graceful, a perfect gentleman everywhere. He was confined in Mrs. Northrup's house two years with a hip disease. Mrs. Northrup had so much work and care that she would often send her daughter Sarah into John's room to care for him. One day, Dr. Gold, my cousin, said to Mrs. Northrup, 'John Ridge now has no disease about him, and I do not think it best to give him any more medicine; but he has some deep trouble and you must find out what it is!'

"That afternoon, Sarah spent away from home, and Mrs. Northrup, taking her stockings to darn for the students, went in to sit with John. She said to him, 'John, you have some trouble and you must tell me; you know you have no mother here, only me, and you have always confided in me as you would your own mother.' He started up in wild amazement and said, 'I got trouble; no!'

"She says, 'John, I cannot leave you until you tell me all.'

" 'I do not want to tell you,' he replied. She says, 'You must tell me.'

" 'Well,' he replied, 'you must know, I love your Sarah.' She said, 'You must not.'

" 'I know it,' he said, 'and that is the trouble.'

"She said, 'Have you ever mentioned it to her?'

" 'No; we have not said a word to each other; I dare not, but how could I help loving her when she has taken such good care of me these two years?'

"As soon as Sarah came home, Mrs. Northrup said to her, 'Sarah, do you love John Ridge?'

" 'Yes, I do love John,' she admitted.

"Mrs. Northrup saw there was trouble in camp. Mr. Northrup took Sarah to her grandparents in New Haven and told them why he had brought her there; wished them to make parties and introduce her to other gentlemen and try every way to get her mind off of John Ridge. She stayed three months. She would not take notice of any gentleman, or any company. She had no appetite for food. She lost flesh and they thought she would soon be a victim of consumption. They were alarmed about her and brought her home.

"John was dying for Sarah and Sarah was dying for John. Finally, Mrs. Northrup told John to go home and stay two years and if he could come back without crutches, he might marry Sarah. He did so, and came back well. His father, Major Ridge, came with him. They came in the most splendid carriage that ever entered town. They had their waiters in great style. Major Ridge's coat was trimmed in gold lace. On the Sabbath he could not be seen by strangers as 'it was the day of worship of the Great Spirit, and if he went to church, they would worship him.' He would see people every day during the two weeks he remained except on the Sabbath.

"John and Sarah were married and went to the Cherokee Nation in the State of Georgia, there to live in splendor, but not as missionaries. John was sent several times to Washington to transact business for his Nation. Sarah remained at home taking care of her servants, for she had thirty living in her back yard. She dressed in silk.

"After the town of Cornwall had become quiet over the marriage of Sarah and John, there arose another tumult,

and the social life of the parish, usually so quiet, arose to a fever heat over the announcement that 'Elias Boudinot, John Ridge's cousin, was about to marry Harriet, daughter of Colonel Gold.' She was one of the fairest, most cultured young ladies of the place, a very pious, amiable girl, and the nearest to perfection of any person I ever saw. She was the youngest of fourteen children; the others were all married, except two brothers. One brother was a Congregational minister. Her sisters all married well, and some of them were rich. One married a lawyer, one a judge, and one a Congregational minister. All of them had married so well that it seemed a dreadful stroke to have Harriet marry an Indian. She was the idol of the family. They tried to persuade her not to marry him, but all in vain. Not only was her own town stirred up, but one minister came from another town to try to persuade her not to marry Elias Boudinot. They talked to her half a day, but she would argue them down. And then they would say, 'She must have him; no other way!' She would say, 'We have vowed and our vows are heard in heaven; color is nothing to me; his soul is as white as mine. He is a Christian, and ever since I embraced religion I have been praying God would open a door for me to be one of them, and this is the way!'

"After it was known that she must and would go with the Cherokee, the 'roughs' in town burned her and Mrs. Northrup and Sarah in effigy. They used a barrel of tar. While they were burning, Harriet's friends carried her one mile away. The house in which she was stationed stood on a high hill. She looked out of a window and said, 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!' Sure enough, they afterwards repented of it; could not forgive themselves.

"Six months after the engagement was publicly known, they were married. Excitement ceased and they had a splendid wedding. No young people were invited. My father and mother attended the wedding. As a result of these two weddings, the Cornwall School was discontinued.

"After Mr. and Mrs. Elias Boudinot went to the Cherokee Country, Colonel Gold and his wife went in a one-horse carriage to Georgia to visit them. They found them living in a two-story house, neatly furnished. Mrs. Gold told us after their return that she never had seen such a store of provisions. In one room upstairs was a barrel of coffee, a barrel of sugar, and everything good they needed. Mr. Boudinot was a kind, good husband, and Mrs. Gold declared that Harriet had married just as well as any of her other children. Sarah had three children. Harriet had six, and died when the sixth child was born."

Elias Boudinot's salary as editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was only twenty-five dollars per month, which seems to have represented a fair remuneration for one's services at that early date. His wife, Harriet, was buried in the small cemetery at New Echota, and her grave is marked with a marble slab.

In 1826, a special committee was appointed by the American Board to visit Cornwall and confer with the agents of the Foreign Mission School, and make a report as to the wisdom of continuing it. The special committee reported that, "The interests of the missionary cause do not require the continuance of the school, as most of the great objects, which it was designed to accomplish, can now be more easily and effectually attained by other means." The Foreign Mission School came to an end in 1827.

CHAPTER XII

ARD HOYT

Rev. Ard Hoyt by coming to Brainerd and serving as superintendent of the mission at the time of the beginning of its most important period, became one of the most prominent of the missionaries stationed there, until the arrival of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester later on.

Mr. Hoyt, or Father Hoyt, as he was more familiarly known, was a very remarkable person, and he proved to be the right man at the right time to make the mission a success, when it demanded a man of his unselfish devotion and determination.

If all the missionaries had made a record of their journeys in reaching Brainerd and of their subsequent experiences, they would have left descriptive and historical data as interesting as that recorded by this missionary's son. Ard Hoyt was a man of a wonderful personality. He had a kind, winning way, sympathetic and wholly unselfish. When his friends suggested that he take up the ministry, he declined to consider the matter very seriously. Later on when he changed his mind and decided to enter this profession, after a short training, he was ordained by the Congregationalists. This proved a great surprise to some of his boyhood friends who had known him as the post-boy and a silversmith, a trade which he learned quite early in life.

Of his congenial and happy disposition, a prominent

clergyman said of him, "When I first became acquainted with Reverend Ard Hoyt, he was so cheerful and free, and almost jovial in his social relations, that I concluded he was a man of very little piety, at all events, not fit for a minister; but, on further acquaintance, I found him a depth of religious experience far beyond anything I had known, and through his influence I changed my whole life, and became more social, and as a consequence, far more useful than ever before." It was almost a tragedy in the history of the Christian religion when so many of its most prominent leaders believed that true religion hid itself behind grave manners, austere countenances, and serious and stern expressions! If Ard Hoyt had accomplished nothing else in the world than to convince his contemporaries that the most practical religion is the kind that begets a smiling face and can produce a hearty laugh, his would have been a most successful life.

When Ard Hoyt was ready to leave his home at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, to take up the work under the American Board at Brainerd, he had a family of seven children—three daughters, four sons, and a wife. The oldest child was twenty-three and the youngest was ten years old.

At a great reunion of the Hoyt family in Stamford, Connecticut, Rev. Cornelius A. Hoyt, his youngest child, who had spent many happy years with his father at Brainerd, and Willstown Mission, prepared an interesting manuscript on the life and experiences of his father, from which are taken the following extracts:

"In a few days our whole family, packed in a two-horse wagon, might have been seen wending up the steeps of the mountain, at the foot of which Wilkes-Barre is situated, and a jollier company probably never was seen before. We had shed tears freely at parting from loved

scenes and friends, but they were tears of joy rather than of sorrow; for my father's great cheerfulness and joy in the new work in which he was engaging were contagious, and we all felt the inspiration. The first night we spent on top of that mountain, and a happy night it was, for we seemed nearer heaven than ever before. Having made our way to the sea-coast, we set sail from Philadelphia, November 10, 1817, for Savannah, Georgia. Meeting at first with heavy head-winds, the captain became terribly enraged, and swore he always had bad luck when he had a priest and women on board. Soon, the wind changed, and we made a very pleasant and quick trip. The captain said he had not made so quick a trip for thirty years, and became wonderfully attached to my father, and was greatly improved in his manners. At Savannah, we purchased a two-horse wagon, and made our way slowly and with some difficulty, but cheerfully, to the country of the Cherokee Indians.

"The first night we spent by a beautiful stream on the bare ground, surrounded by an unbroken forest, far from any human habitation. To many the situation would have been regarded as gloomy in the extreme, but my father's heart was overflowing with joy at having, at last, reached the fields of his labors, and he infused unto us his own cheerfulness, so that with merry hearts we made a delightful supper on simple Indian or corn-meal pudding. A traveller who had lost his way, and was frightened almost out of his wits lest the Indians should kill him, came to us and was overjoyed to be allowed to take a seat on a log by our fire, and partake of the luxury of the Indian pudding. The next morning, just as the sun arose in an unclouded sky, a Moravian missionary, who had penetrated these wilds before us, and who had heard of

our approach, in his buckskin suit throughout, cap and all, very unexpectedly presented himself before us, and lifting both hands to heaven, the tears streaming from his eyes, cried, 'Welcome! welcome! welcome!' and then threw his arms around my father and again repeated his hearty welcome to us in the name of the Lord. He soon guided us to a snug little log cabin, in front of which his wife, in a costume, which was simplicity itself, repeating the hearty welcome, threw herself upon my mother and sisters, and such a love-feast as we had, has, I think, seldom before or since been enjoyed. Having here refreshed ourselves, we proceeded farther into the interior, and my father soon sought an interview with the council of Indian chiefs.

"The council hall was partly underground, and he was conducted with solemn awe through a dark labyrinth with sepulchral surroundings into the august presence of the chiefs, who sat in solemn silence, and arrayed in costume becoming the high dignity of the preëminent and the long-honored tribe of the Cherokee.

"After an address from him through an interpreter, he was requested to withdraw, but was soon recalled, when the principal chief thus addressed him: 'We have so often been deceived by the fair talks but selfish acts of the whites, that we had lost confidence in them. But you do not talk like them. You seem to be our friend, and we believe the Great Spirit has sent you to do us good. We give you our heart's welcome, and place ourselves, and will place our children at your feet to hear what the Great Spirit has to say to us. In token of our entire confidence, we give you our right hands.'

"It would be interesting to give the particulars of the success of these missionary labors at Brainerd,—how the

young Indian queen was converted, and, dreaming of hearing the music of heaven, on waking and remembering the first two lines, prepared, with the assistance of others, a hymn-book in the Cherokee language; how the distinguished warrior, named John Huss by the missionaries, left a position in his tribe to devote himself to preaching among the Indians; how an Indian woman rode a hundred and fifty miles alone on horseback to Brainerd to hear the Gospel; how two other Indian women came on foot for twenty miles over the mountains and swam a river to attend morning services; how a proud young Indian scoffer with a wisdom at least equal to some of our modern skeptics proved the Bible false and the missionaries cheats, because we told him the world turned round on its axis, and he had gone to his open pig-pen in the morning and found that the hogs had not tumbled out, but afterwards being converted, became one of the best interpreters."

The story of the Osage children prisoners has already been told in another chapter. In relating this story, Rev. Cornelius A. Hoyt mentions the following amusing incident about his father and brother Milo, who went in search of them:

"They travelled through a wild and desolate region, and having been for several days without anything to eat, came to a little hut where a kindly Indian woman was sitting with a large wooden bowl of hominy in the middle of the earth-floor. It had been raining, and the pigs had made quite a mud-hole at the door, and a little child, in a state of perfect nudity, came dashing through the mud-hole, and stepped squarely into the hominy bowl, coming out with his foot somewhat cleaner, whatever might be said of the hominy. The old woman seemed quite mortified, and catching the boy with one hand and taking the

ladle from the hominy, gave him some fundamental lessons in manners which he would not likely soon forget, and returning the ladle to the hominy, politely invited her guests to help themselves. To eat, or not to eat was the question; whether to die by starvation, or to die from eating a peck of dirt. My father was conscientious in all such matters, and concluding it to be his duty to eat what was set before him, dipped in and, in spite of some lingering prejudices of civilization, found it on the whole quite palatable. My brother, Milo, who was not quite so conscientious, thinking, that if he must die, he would rather die of starvation. Many a hearty laugh we have had over this and similar experiences, and during intervals of relaxation, my father always contrived by amusing anecdotes and pleasantries to keep us in good humor, even under circumstances which otherwise would have made us gloomy.

"The latter part of his life was spent at the Willstown Mission (near Fort Payne, Alabama), about fifty miles from Brainerd. Here he was visited by a cousin, whom he had not seen since they had played together as boys. Their meeting was a very joyful one, and with great interest they recounted to each other their various experiences since they last met. This cousin, who was an intelligent gentleman of good moral character and of many excellent qualities, but who had lived as men of the world usually live, became greatly affected, and with an exceedingly sad countenance, said, 'Cousin, I would give a thousand worlds if I had lived as you have; you have lived *for others,* and your life has been a grand success; I have lived *for myself,* and my life has been an ignominious failure.'

"My father continued to labor with unabated zeal and success to the close of his life. He maintained an un-

broken serenity to the last. I once asked him what death he would prefer to die? He replied, 'The death that would please God.' But if God should refer it to you to decide? 'I would refer it back to Him.' But if he were to require you to decide? 'I would rather die suddenly, that I may not prove a burden to my friends.' He had this choice. The Sabbath previous to his death he preached with more than ever wonted power from the text, 'Let the same mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.'

"On Monday, February 18, 1828, he attended as usual the business of the mission; at night he conducted family worship and with his usual calmness and fervor. Soon after we had gone to bed, my mother called me from my chamber, which was over theirs. The family were assembled, he sat on the bedside, and I sat beside him supporting him in my arms. He could not speak, but his countenance was like that of an angel. I said, 'We are all in the hands of God.' He nodded, then looking each one by turns a calm and loving farewell, he turned his eyes upwards, and with difficulty, articulated, 'I am going.' I laid him back on the bed. A multitude attended his funeral. His body was laid to rest in the center of our beautiful little garden spot.

"One little, touching incident occurred after his burial, which may not be unworthy of notice, as it illustrates the wonderful power of his very genial spirit over even the animals of creation. A gray mare, of extremely high spirit and very untractable, had by some means become the property of the mission. No one could manage her. One of the missionaries, bridle in hand, went into a large inclosure where she was grazing, but with mouth wide open and an unearthly bray, she drove him, half frightened out of his wits, across the field, and he barely saved himself

by putting the fence between them. Under my father's management this mare became gentle and tractable as a lamb, and a warm affection grew up between them. She was my father's pet, and she manifested a wonderful love for him. She could open any door, gate, or bars, and of course, went wherever she pleased. After my father was buried, this mare opened the stable door, passed through several bars and gates, which she opened for herself, and at last, putting her head in his study-door and seeing he was not there, she passed through the door-yard, opened the garden gate, and entering, placed herself over the fresh grave. For hours she stood, transfixed with unfeigned grief, and it was with much difficulty that we succeeded in inducing her to leave that charmed spot. I laid my head upon her neck and wept, but there was more joy than sadness in those tears, for I felt that the sublime lessons of my father's life were written out in letters of light, which would never grow dim, and that in his example, which like a form of beauty and of loveliness was ever before me, he still lived and would ever live to bless not only his family but the world.

"It might be interesting to relate more particularly of a somewhat eventful life,—how, in travelling in Indian wilds till after twelve o'clock at night, I used to hear the panther's scream from the mountain-top; how my brother and myself, with rifle and torch-lights, chased the howling wolves, farther and farther back on the mountain, and continued the chase all night long, in the hope of finding their dens; how after travelling on horseback from daylight till dark, we lay down weary at night, with the grassy earth for a bed, and the starry sky for a covering, and slept sweetly and soundly till daybreak again summoned us to renew our journey; how, on another occa-

sion, after sleeping on the cold mountain-top, with the good fortune of having a blanket with me, I awoke in the morning to find my clothes, which I had hung upon the bushes, covered with icicles, thus making a brilliant if not a very comfortable toilet; how, riding all day in the rain, swimming through rivers and losing our way, we came down the mountain by mistake on the same side we went up, to find ourselves at night near the spot we had left in the morning; how, my brother in making his bridal tour, from Maryville, Tennessee, with his newly married wife, and thinking he had lost his way, spent the night in the woods with saddles for pillows, and awoke in the morning to find himself within a stone's throw of the mission at Willstown. I might tell how I came near being drowned, when, the missionaries being in the Georgia penitentiary for righteousness' sake, I was assisting in taking their families to see them, and driving a two-horse carriage through the rivers, one of which was several feet deep, and being told by the by-standers that I never would reach the other side alive, I succeeded by a narrow escape.

"I might speak somewhat of my early experience in the temperance cause, when acting as agent, collecting facts and securing subscribers to the first temperance paper published in the United States, I came nearer being drunk than at any time in my life, by having whiskey clandestinely infused into the cider which in a hot day was, with high professions of hospitality, offered me; and I then adopted for myself, what I have never since violated, a teetotal pledge. I might speak of the humble part I have taken in my ecclesiastical connections, and in the labors of a public lecturer, in the anti-slavery cause, when I had to contend with physicians, lawyers, legislators, judges, ministers; doctors of divinity on one side, and

doctors of law on the other, with no small sprinkle of the mob element intermixed.

"I might speak of the still more radical reforms which in my depest convictions, I have advocated; reforms which reach far down into all men's bodily habits, as well as their social, moral, civil and religious relations, and demand an entire revolution in most of the habits and usages of society, as at present organized, but this would extend this sketch of undue length and perhaps be deemed foreign to the purpose for which I have prepared it. I might speak of the grand-children of Reverend Ard Hoyt, some of whom have already taken a respectable stand, not only among merchants, mechanics and farmers, but also among scholars, legislators, judges and officers in the army."

When Rev. Cornelius A. Hoyt finished the above sentence, it is recorded that he made a touching allusion to Missionary Ridge, so named from the old Brainerd Mission which his father superintended for a number of years. Two of Ard Hoyt's grandchildren were officers in the Union Army, and at the time of the Battle of Missionary Ridge, one of those officers while reflecting on the years of unselfish work his grandfather had devoted at the old mission, which was so near-by, suddenly became possessed with double enthusiasm and rushed bravely into the front of the battle, but was removed from the field severely wounded. Soon he returned and again took command, but received another wound which was believed would prove fatal. However, inside of three weeks he was able to take up his charge under General Sherman, where he remained in actual service until the close of the war.

Of all the large family of Rev. Hoyt's, Milo, his son, was the most prominent at Brainerd because of the great work he did there and the often hazardous journeys he

made in behalf of the mission, some of which are referred to in the journal. Ard Hoyt's son, Darius, was the schoolmaster at Willstown Mission for a few years. Milo married Lydia Lowry, the daughter of a prominent Cherokee chief, Major George Lowry. In later life, Milo became a physician. Many of the descendants of Ard Hoyt attained prominent ranks. Among them are Samuel Hoyt Venable and his nieces, owner of the famous Stone Mountain, and Mrs. Frank T. Mason of Atlanta, Georgia.

Among the records kept by Ard Hoyt at the Willstown Mission, is the report of a very charming Cherokee girl by the name of Achsah, whose age was supposed to be about eighteen years. She died in 1826, and was among the first converts at that mission. Until her health began to decline, she gave promise of becoming one of the most prominent leaders in that valley. She had a vigorous mind for a girl of her tender age, and many of her dying speeches were written in the Cherokee language and were read by her admirers with great interest. Hers was regarded as the greatest testimony of truth that was ever exhibited in the valley, even unto her last hours. The missionaries regarded her life so remarkable as to merit a memoir. What Catherine Brown had been to the Brainerd Mission, Achsah promised to grow into at Willstown.

CHAPTER XIII

CATHERINE BROWN

WITHIN the chartered limits of the State of Alabama, not far south of the Tennessee line, is a beautiful plain known as Wills Valley. A hundred and twenty-five years ago while this country was yet in possession of its native forests and they in turn in possession of the Cherokees, Wills Valley was a most charming spot. Beside the rich gardens were running streams of clear water, cool bubbling springs, green hills and a verdant hunting ground where deer, turkey and other game animals lived in great abundance.

About the year 1800, there was born in this valley a Cherokee girl whose father's name was Yau-nu-gung-yah-shi, which signified "the drowned by a bear." Since white people could not easily pronounce the long Indian names, they usually gave the people more simple ones. They called this Indian simply John Brown. His wife's name was Tsa-luh, but the whites called her Sarah. Neither John nor Sarah could speak or write a word in the English language.

Their baby girl was named Catherine Brown, and she grew to be an Indian squaw as handsome and possessed of as natural a beauty as Wills Valley itself. Catherine developed into a girl perfect physically and was one of the most graceful young women in the Cherokee Nation. She possessed charming manners and was so affable that she

easily made friends wherever she went. Her features were perfect and her complexion blossomed as a wild flower, and yet she was modest and prepossessing.

It is little wonder that when she arrived at the Brainerd Mission on July 9, 1817, and asked to be admitted to the school that the missionaries became greatly puzzled as to the best course to take.

Here was a peculiar situation over which many persons have pondered: In appearance and demeanor, on her arrival at Brainerd, she was just the opposite of John Arch, whom she preceded at Brainerd by a little over a year and a half. And yet, Cyrus Kingsbury stated that he did not encourage her to enter the school. With all of her extreme modesty and her winning manners, she displayed as high opinion of herself as she did in fine clothing and beautiful ornaments that she wore. Later on, the missionaries were to hesitate on receiving John Arch into the school because of his dirty and uncultivated appearance. It was felt that a person of Catherine Brown's personality would not yield to the discipline of the school. This institution was industrial in its form, requiring manual labor of all its students. Rev. Kingsbury discussed the matter frankly with the beautiful squaw, who apparently was not over eighteen years old. He did not insist on an immediate decision, but rather insisted that she should take her time and seriously consider the matter, half suggesting that perhaps she had better seek some other school, in the event that she found it difficult to make up her mind as to what was best to do. The fact is, Cyrus Kingsbury did not believe that the hard manual labor which she would be required to do would harmonize with the girl's training. The teachers at Brainerd were as greatly surprised in the subsequent career of Catherine Brown as they were in that of John

Arch. The disclosure of what Cyrus Kingsbury believed would prove a discouraging discipline of the school did not prevent Catherine Brown from entering.

Her manners were so charming and she was such a lovely character that she soon became the favorite of the school, and more especially with the boys, who quite naturally tried to show their admiration of her by presenting her with the usual small gifts of Indian articles.

If Cyrus Kingsbury had known before Catherine Brown's arrival of her high regard for her character and of the great struggle that she had had to preserve her chastity, he doubtless would have received her with no apprehension of what might follow in the future. At school and on all occasions, Catherine Brown so conducted herself that her morals were always above reproach. The looseness of manners among so many of the Indian squaws observed by the missionaries had led them to misjudge Catherine Brown, and when later on, they learned of her exposure to the evil designs of the soldiers of the United States army which was encamped near her home during the war with the Creeks, and how she, at the peril of her health and body, successfully escaped the society of the immoral soldiers, the missionaries' admiration of the girl was so great that they regarded her as a model of what every young woman should be.

Her case appeared more unusual to her teachers when her struggle to preserve her virtue occurred at a time when she had no religious conceptions. Catherine Brown regarded the preservation of her character far above that of injury or loss of her body, and at one time, she fled from her home into the forests that she might remain pure. In this manner and in other ways, she succeeded in saving an unsullied character.

On entering the school at Brainerd, she volunteered to disclose her conceptions of God. She imagined that He was some great Being, domiciled somewhere in the sky overhead. It was her belief that the Cherokees were an entirely different race of people from the whites, and that a religion for the whites was not intended for the Cherokees. It was this deep-seated notion of hers that handicapped the missionaries at Brainerd at first in convincing Catherine that the Christian religion might be as much her own as it was for any of the whites. From what she had learned about Christianity, at first, she thought that to become religious would make people quite unhappy.

Before she went to Brainerd, Catherine had the good fortune of visiting a family of Cherokees who taught her to speak the English language, also how to read words of not more than one syllable. It was, perhaps, the knowledge of this much of English that excited her interest in acquiring an education, which could not be obtained at any other place besides Brainerd.

From the day of her enrollment in school, Catherine Brown pursued her studies diligently, and, inside of sixty days, she was able to read the Bible. In ninety days, she had made such rapid progress that she could read as well as almost any person with an ordinary education. Her progress in penmanship was no less remarkable, for when she had used up four sheets of paper in copying, she was able to write neatly and accurately, and by constant practice in letter writing, which she seemed to enjoy greatly, she soon was able to compose intelligent letters in which she explained her thoughts and feelings interestingly and clearly.

When she became acquainted with the Christian religion, she took quite naturally to it, and not only became

one of the mission's most devout pupils, but she rose to be a leader of religious exercises. Indeed, she became quite instrumental in giving religious instruction to others and when she witnessed and experienced the wholesome effect that religion exercised on its followers, she immediately turned her attention to introducing it to her heathen friends and especially to her family, and finally succeeded in bringing them into the wholesome Christian atmosphere.

The ardent zeal which she devoted to this cause is well illustrated in the case of her own brother, David, who later on was sent by the missionaries to Cornwall, Connecticut, and educated. David was then in the Arkansas River country. One morning, she stole to the woods as her secret chamber for prayer, and there she became so intensely interested in her brother's conversion to the Christian religion, that time passed so quickly, when she returned from her secret forest closet, the day was well spent and the sun going down.

Her attachment for Brainerd was equal to that of John Arch's, and she disclosed her great affection for the mission when at the commencement of the school in 1818, her father came to take her with him and his family to the territory west of the Mississippi. Catherine became deeply concerned over the prospect of separation from the missionaries and they, in turn, were not less affected because she was among the first fruits of the mission, and with her amiable disposition, her splendid character and eagerness to acquire knowledge, they felt the mission could ill spare her.

Before she was willing to leave, she expressed a desire to be baptized, which request was gladly granted, and on January 25, 1818, in the presence of a large assembly of people, she consecrated her life to the Christian service.

Her departure from Brainerd was marked with extreme sadness, and the degree of her sorrow is partially expressed in a letter that she wrote to a missionary friend at Elliott Mission (Mississippi), in which she said:

"I feel grieved when I think of leaving my dear friends, and of going far from all religious people, into a wild, howling wilderness, where no star shines to guide my wandering feet; where no warning voice is heard to keep me in the straight path that leads to heaven. When I look to that dark region, I start back, but when I think of my two brothers there, and my dear parents, who are soon to go, I feel reluctant to stay behind, and leave them to perish alone."

And when she had traveled as far as Fort Deposit, she wrote a pathetic letter to Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain at Brainerd, of which the following are extracts:

"I just sit down to address you with my pen. But is this all? Am I so soon called to bid you adieu, and see your faces no more in this world? O my beloved friends, you know not the love I bear to that blessed spot, where I have spent so many happy hours with you, but it is past never to return.

"Dear friends, I weep; my heart is full; tears flow from my eyes while I write, and why is it so? Do I murmur? God forbid. Ought I not praise the Lord for what I have received and trust Him for everything?

"Since I left you, I have led a very lonely life, and not heard the Gospel preached but once; that is, when Father Hoyt and Milo were here. They came here Tuesday evening. I was sitting in my room, and heard a knocking at the door. I bid them come in; and who but Milo appeared. He said his father was at the door. That rejoiced me very much, and I enjoyed very much

while they were here. I am here amongst wicked people."

No person was ever more happy than was Catherine Brown when, after she had left Brainerd with her father, his plans for removing to the West were upset and it was four years later before he was able to prosecute his journey to that country.

However, the hour of separation came again, but this time she was not made so sorrowful because she was to go no farther than her old home at Creek Path. At the time the mission was established at that place, Catherine Brown was chosen by the missionaries to go there as a teacher in 1820. One of the most valuable practices the missionaries at Brainerd encouraged among their students was that of keeping private diaries.

The hardships and exposures in traveling through the wilderness at that early date often brought about serious diseases of the human body. On her journey back to Creek Path, Catherine described in her diary some of the exposures which she endured. These, doubtless, so weakened her bodily resistance to disease that she was attacked by consumption while in the flower of womanhood. Of that trip she wrote:

"May 31, 1820. This morning I set out from Brainerd with my dear father. We travelled about twenty miles.

"June 2. I have been very sick to-day; but am now a little better. Hope I shall be able to travel to-morrow. Last night I slept on the floor without any bed. Felt quite happy in my situation. Though very sick in body, yet I trust my heart was well.

"June 5. Have arrived at my father's, but am yet very unwell. Had a bad cold. Am sometimes afraid I shall not be able to teach school at Creek Path. We slept two

nights on the ground with our wet blankets before we reached our home."

Fortunately, Catherine recovered from the illness occasioned by the hazardous trip from Brainerd, and was able to begin promptly the girls' school with twenty pupils. The attendance grew very fast, and as quickly as she taught them to read and write, she interested them in the study of the Bible. Many mothers of the girls came for instruction.

When she had labored for three-quarters of a year at Creek Path, on the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Potter from Brainerd, she was relieved of work as a teacher and given an opportunity to continue her own studies. In speaking of Catherine Brown, Mr. Potter said:

"For sweetness of temper, meekness, gentleness, and forbearance, I never saw one who surpassed her. To her parents she was uncommonly dutiful and affectionate. Nothing which could contribute to their happiness was considered a burden, and her plans were readily yielded to theirs, however great the sacrifice to her feelings. The spiritual interests of the family lay nearest her heart, and she sometimes spent whole evenings in conversation with them on religious subjects.

"Before our arrival, she had established a weekly prayer-meeting with the female members of the family. She never refused to take an active part in any of the religious meetings at the church. She endeared herself to our hearts and she was most tenderly loved by all the children."

In 1822 Rev. Bascom on a journey through the Cherokee country, visited the Brown family where he met Catherine, and was so impressed with her that he said:

"We arrived after the family had dined, and she received us and spread a table for our refreshment, with the

unaffected kindness of a sister. The gracefulness of her figure, the sweetness of her expression, have often been the subject of remark; and I was the more delighted with her humility, as I greatly feared I should discover an unhappy influence from the misjudged praise, which had been heaped upon her. The fact was, she gave me evidence, by her habitual behavior, of being a sanctified child of God."

But tragedy seems ever to stalk persistently at the heels of the missionary who labors in a wilderness, and disease often claims the most prominent leaders. As beautiful, as sweet, as refined, as gentle and as noble as was Catherine Brown, in 1822, the disease which eventually claimed her life, manifested itself. In her illness, she made a trip back to Brainerd to consult with Dr. Elizur Butler concerning her case. She thought perhaps the journey in the great outdoors might help her, but it failed, for a chilly, tumultous storm arose not long after she left her home, and the exposure increased her misery. After spending three weeks at Brainerd, she went back home with plans for a second trip to Brainerd for medical treatment, but she was never able to return to that institution. She was extremely anxious, if possible, to find some means of escape from the clutches of tuberculosis, but all she could do was to consult the medical books at home. She was aware that the end of her life was somewhat near, and her calmness of manner and the good sense which she displayed in her last days, together with her transformation from a heathen to a Christian, and her subsequent work, were largely responsible for the book that was published and widely distributed in 1825 entitled, *Memoir of Catherine Brown, A Christian Indian of the Cherokee Nation.*

On one occasion, when Mrs. Potter visited Catherine's sick room, the girl said to Mrs. Potter, "Isn't this a beautiful hymn:

Why should we start and fear to die!
What timorous worms we mortals are!
Death is the gate of endless joy,
And yet we dread to enter there.

The pains and groans and dying strife,
Fright our approaching souls away;
Still we shrink back again to life,
Fond of our prison and our clay.

Oh, if my Lord would come and meet,
My soul should stretch her wings in haste;
Fly fearless through death's iron gate,
Nor feel the terror as she passed.

Jesus can make a dying bed
Feel soft as downy pillows are,
While on his breast I lean my head,
And breathe my life out sweetly there.

As a last effort to restore Catherine Brown to her usual health, she was sent to Dr. Campbell, a warm friend of the Brown family, at Limestone. She was so feeble that she could not endure the jolty ride in the carriage and was transported to the Tennessee River, six miles away, in a litter. From Creek Path, the missionaries and friends accompanied her to the boat. Catherine's reputation as a model young woman and as a sympathetic teacher was known so generally that small groups of people gathered at various places on the way, and as she passed by they took her by the hand and bade her farewell, many of

them feeling, perhaps, this was the last time they would ever glimpse her face.

She was placed in a canoe and for forty miles she enjoyed a comfortable ride down the river as far as Trianna. From there, she was carried five miles farther.

At first she appeared to improve under the care of Dr. Campbell, and she and her friends were greatly encouraged. At this time, Mrs. Potter of Creek Path paid her a visit, and Catherine dictated a letter to her brother David. Mrs. Potter says:

"To my partial eye, she was, at that moment, an interesting spectacle, and I have often wished that her portrait could then have been taken. Her countenance was softened with the affectionate remembrance of an endeared brother; her cheek was a little flushed with the exertion of speaking, her eye beamed with spiritual joy, and a heavenly smile animated the whole scene. I shall never forget it, nor the words she then whispered in my ear."

On July 18 she died and was taken to her home at Creek Path and buried by the side of her brother John.

CHAPTER XIV

REPORTS FROM THE JOURNAL

In selecting the paragraphs from the Brainerd journal, an attempt has been made to choose the items that will present a view of the transactions of the school and mission from every possible angle. As the varying dates disclose, a great many items have been omitted, though not a few of them well worthy of publication.

"June 16, 1821. Mr. Butrick and brother Reece returned this evening. They had a meeting about eleven miles distant from Brainerd, where the Cherokees have lately built a court house. This building makes a very convenient place for public worship, particularly in the warm season. Nearly or quite all of the people in that vicinity were present, and gave very good attention. More than a year ago, Mr. Butrick taught some of them a Cherokee hymn. These placed themselves on a seat together and delighted the ears and hearts of our brethren by singing that hymn with great accuracy and melody.

"June 19. Two sisters from the Moravians at Oochgelogy came to make us a visit. One of them was formerly a member of this church. The number of communicants in the Moravian church at Oochgelogy and Springplace, so far as we have been informed, is twelve, beside the missionaries.

"July 2. Last fall we sowed four acres on the margin of the Chickamaugah creek with Timothy seed, and are

well satisfied that fine meadows may be formed on the low land near the stream. We have gathered a fine quantity of hay from this place; the grass was waist high and very thick.

"September 17, 1821. Our feelings have again been tried by the painful necessity of rejecting two fine promising boys of suitable age, because our school is full. The parent, after finding that they could not be received, urged us with importunity to fix some future time when we could take them. But it was not in our power to do even this, as there are numbers now waiting to fill the places of any who may be prepared to leave school.

"September 24. It is perhaps generally believed that Indians have naturally a greater thirst for ardent spirits than almost any other people, but the sobriety of many families, who have become civilized, and live in the manner of white people, seems to render this hypothesis at least doubtful. So far as our acquaintance extends, the well informed Indians have as few intemperate men among them, in proportion to their numbers as the white people. But so long as multitudes are suffered to remain in their ignorant state, and the cupidity of their white neighbors is pouring in floods of whiskey among them, they must be expected to be cut down by this fell destroyer of life and peace.

"October 12. Brother and sister Potter arrived from Creek Path. Catherine Brown and her mother accompanied them most of the way, and are expected to be here to-morrow. The school is not large there, the average has been about eighteen scholars. Most of them have made good proficiency in learning. Eight board in Mr. Potter's family.

"October 14. Father Hoyt inquired of the church,

whether the candidates for baptism should this day be admitted to that ordinance, and also, whether Darius Hoyt, a candidate for the communion, should this day be admitted to the Lord's table. He was answered in the affirmative. We then repaired to the house of worship, where in due time, the candidates for baptism, in the presence of many poor, benighted people, solemnly received that holy ordinance. The Cherokee man took the name of Samuel J. Mills. Four of his children were baptised. Mr. and Mrs. Butler presented their infant, William Smith, for baptism. After the fore-mentioned exercises, we were invited to the table of our Lord, where we had the pleasure of receiving for the first time, our dear brother, Darius Hoyt.

"January 3, 1822. Brother Butrick left us to go to spend some time in visiting the people in different parts of the nation. He will go first to Creek Path for the purpose of obtaining brother John Arch to accompany him as interpreter. One of the Cherokee boys reviewing Murray's *Grammar,* recited the whole of Orthography, Etymology and Syntax at one lesson, without missing more than three or four words.

"January 4. The Reverend Mr. Marshall of the Methodist connection, and Mr. Jack called on us. This evening the family were collected and brother Marshall gave us a discourse on the goodness of God.

"February 8. Mr. Reece, being sent to interpret, came and expects to stay till after the Sabbath. We had our Cherokee friends together. Mr. Hoyt spent most of the afternoon in reading and explaining to them select parts of the sermon on the mount. In the evening our friends joined with us in singing Cherokee hymns and Samuel J. Mills made a long and animated address.

"February 28. Mr. Butrick and John Arch arrived, having been absent about two months. They visited the most important places in this part of the nation. They were everywhere kindly received, and heard with attention, especially by the chiefs.

"March 18. A Cherokee man, living about ten miles from us, being far gone in consumption, sent for one of the missionaries to visit him. Mr. Chamberlain went and found him apparently near his end. He was very anxious for the salvation of his soul.

"March 19. Mr. Butrick went to see the sick man and found he died last night. He staid and attended the funeral.

"May 21. Mr. Jeremiah Evarts and Mr. Goodell took leave of us this morning; the latter to act as agent of the Board in East Tennessee and other places, until God shall prepare a way for him to join the Palestine Mission, to which he is appointed. They took with them a Cherokee lad, who is expected to receive the name of William Kirkpatrick, and to finish his education under the patronage of a benevolent gentleman by that name in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. We have cause of much gratitude to God for this visit of the Corresponding Secretary; for his improved health; for his Christian communion we have had together; for his seasonable instructions, and exhortations, and for the pleasing prospect of having more schools soon established among this needy people."

In a request for books needed at Brainerd, on May 22, 1822, Ard Hoyt listed the following:

"Adam's *Arithmetic,* for boys and girls.

"Alden's *Reader,* or other reader as shall be preferred.

"*Christian Psalmody,* or Worcester's *Selection of Sacred Music. Select Hymns.*

"For the girls, especially: Murray's *Grammar,* abridged; Cummings' *Large and Small Geography;* Alden's *Reader,* Worcester's *Geography,* Dwight's *Theology.*"

On August 3, the same year, Mr. Hoyt also asked the following articles from Boston: A good many slate pencils, Morse's *Geography for Schools,* Morse's *Geography and Atlas,* a time-piece, a tankard and two cups. Most of the letters written by the missionaries at Brainerd were posted at Rossville, Georgia; Athens, Tennessee; Calhoun, Tennessee; Washington, Tennessee; and Hamilton Court House, Tennessee. Later on a postoffice was called Chickamauga, and also one at Brainerd which had a rubber stamp, while most of the other postmarks were simply written with a pen and ink.

"May 25, 1822. Colonel Arthur B. Campbell, of Blount County, Tennessee, called this evening to spend the Sabbath with us.

"June 6. Mr. Chamberlain returned. He found the people at Hightower still anxious for a blacksmith and a school, and made such arrangements as were thought necessary for the blacksmith to go as soon as possible. Inclining a little to the east as he went out, and to the west as he returned, he took Springplace, Yookalooga, and Turniptown in his route. He found our beloved fellow-laborers at the two former places in good health and the church prosperous. They expect to open a school at Yookalooga next autumn.

"It appears to be of great importance to have schools very soon at Wills Valley, Turniptown (near Chatooga) and Hightower. These places, including Creek Path and Yookalooga, lie nearly in a line, which, at the nearest place is about fifty miles south of Brainerd. Their distance

from each other is about a day's ride. Should mission schools be established in all these places, a preacher might go out from Brainerd to Springplace, Taloney, Hightower, Yookalooga, Turniptown, Wills Valley, and Creek Path, encircling most of the lower part of the nation, and lodge at a mission school every night."

INDIANS SETTLE BOUNDARY LINE

"The Cherokees and Creeks have amicably settled the boundary line between them, and have lately marked it. As, by agreement, it should be a straight line west from a given point on the Chattahoochee River, to the mouth of Wills Creek, a distance of about a hundred and forty miles. Having no surveyor, a hunter, standing on the boundary at the Chattahoochee, pointed out the supposed course to the mouth of Wills Creek. On this course a straight line was run by ranging, and they came out at the end of one hundred and forty miles within eighty rods of the intended place."

CUSTOMS AMONG THE NATIVES

"July 3. Dr. Butler, after visiting sister Coody went to brother Reece's neighborhood and found the woman, who had been raised almost to health by his instrumentality, had fallen a victim to her imprudence, or perhaps, to the mistaken notions of her relatives. She died yesterday. It appears that she had been heated in the hot-house, and plunged, while in a high state of perspiration, into a river. This is one of the Indian's methods of curing the sick; but, in a case like hers, nothing could have been more injudicious. Ignorance and superstition mutually foster each other, as it respects both soul and body. There are

numbers in that neighborhood, lately from the Upper towns, who still adhere to the old custom of a sacrifice dance before they eat green corn and beans. A number of them were at work for brother Reece in the field, and he brought them green beans before they had their dance. Several immediately remonstrated, accusing him of great wickedness. He labored in vain to convince them of their error. As he and one of his old neighbors sat down to eat, the others all refused to partake, and left the field. We believe this ancient custom is nearly done away in all the lower part of the nation, but those in the mountains have had, comparatively, very little opportunity for instruction. It was there that a family was destroyed about ten years ago for the supposed crime of witchcraft. But brother Reece says that there has been a very great and astonishing improvement in every part of the nation since that time, and particularly within the last five years."

A CASE OF DISCIPLINE

"July 6, 1822. At the opening of the school this morning, Mr. Hoyt and Dr. Butler attended with Mr. Ellsworth, and examined the three truant boys. They had been at the ball play. It appears that the youth who has been longest in school enticed the other two. One of the two has been in school but a few weeks, and does not understand English. He appears to be in a great degree ignorant of the evil of ball play,—was much grieved that he had done wrong, and ready to promise strict obedience for the future. We thought best to grant him a free pardon. The other, though the youngest of the three, has been longer in the school and understands English; he was therefore fined. But the leader, having been long in school, and taught to speak English from his childhood,

able to read the word of God, thoroughly acquainted with the rules of the school, and warned, on this very subject, but a few days before by his teacher, was thought to merit expulsion. The welfare of the school seemed to require it. We endeavored to make all the scholars understand the reason of our proceeding, and required him to leave the school."

There are two known sites of ball playgrounds near the Brainerd Mission. Both of them are on the Brainerd road, the first one scarcely a mile east of the mission, to the left of the road on the top of the hill just before the highway crosses the Western and Atlantic Railroad. The second ball playground was on the same road, two miles farther on at the old Dr. Mackie place, on a grassy level piece of land by the side of the Mackie branch, and near the fine spring bearing the same name.

"December 28, 1822. Elias Boudinot thinks it is his duty to spend the winter with his mother. He and the four other pious young men who returned with him from the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut, appear to be devoted to the cause, and much engaged to do all in their power for the instruction of their people."

A DESCRIPTIVE NARRATIVE

Just before the year 1821, a woman, at her own expense, joined the mission at Brainerd, but was unable to remain there. In a description of her journey, which was not intended for publication, she left a splendid picture of the primitive condition of the country and of Brainerd institution itself. Her narrative will grow more valuable as the Brainerd Mission passes farther into history. She was nearing the Tennessee River at what is now Chattanooga when that part of her letter which is quoted, begins. The

extremely large hill that she mentions, after she crossed the Tennessee at Ross's Ferry, was later on named Missionary Ridge, though nameless at the time of her journey.

"We had not proceeded far, the next day, before the rain began to fall in great abundance. We reached the Tennessee River, which was not known to have been so high during many years. For the last few miles, we had pursued an unfrequented way, as the waters were said to be less dangerous, than on the common road. This led us to Ross's Ferry, rather than Brown's Ferry. We had come nearly thirty miles, and seen but three habitations, and but one traveller. He begged a piece of rope to repair his harness, which had been cut that he might extricate himself and his horse from a stream into which he had ventured, not knowing the depth, and, losing his portmanteau, had narrowly escaped with his life. The boat at Ross's Ferry was old and dangerous. Our way near the shore lay through the tops of trees, and the ferryman thought our danger might be lessened by taking off the top of the carriage. This was, therefore, sacrificed, although the rain yet continued. The river was smooth and our sail would have been pleasant, but for the danger. In the midst of the river, I felt a strong reliance on God, and even enjoyed the scene, which was truly sublime. When approaching the shore, we could gather mistletoe from the tops of the trees, and were pleased with the thickets of vines, which promised plenty of grapes and muscadines the ensuing season.

"We were not aware that the day was almost past when we landed, and regretted our departure from the last little hut, poor as our accommodations must have been, when we again found ourselves strangers in a dark forest. The rain was falling in torrents, to which we were now wholly

exposed, as we had lost our only shelter—the top of the carriage. The moon gave but partial light, and I felt my situation truly unpleasant, in not being able wholly to shelter from the rain my children who were asleep under my cloak, insensible to my anxiety or their exposure. The evil was greatly increased when we arrived at the foot of a hill [Missionary Ridge], the height and danger of which we could not know, and were told that the horse could not ascend, nor we be safe, unless we walked. My cloak was so filled with water that I left it, and taking the little ones, we alighted, and, with the utmost fatigue, ascended the hill on foot. The time and way appeared so long that we were apprehensive of having lost the road, or we must have reached Brainerd ere this; it being but eight miles from the Tennessee River, and the evening being now far advanced. The patience of our driver was by this time wholly exhausted. His complaints added not a little to our distress. We were most completely drenched in rain. The hour of dining brought no refreshment for us, and the hour of supper could not be improved as such. Bread and meat were all, which our late hospitable friends could impart. Some yet remained, and we had more than once allayed our hungers with this, while sitting in the rain during the last days of our journey.

"Our northern friends, we trusted, were sweetly reposing, unconscious of the dangers and hardships to which we were exposed. Had they known our situation, they possibly might have feared lest we were exposed to the tomahawk of the savage on whose lands we were. But the fear of this never entered our minds. Doubtless, had we found one of their cabins, we should have been hospitably entertained during the night. No kind Cherokee, however, was near, of whom we might inquire, and we pursued

our uncertain way, looking in vain on the right hand and on the left for 'an hospitable ray' from the mission house."

ARRIVAL AT BRAINERD

"A light was at length seen glimmering on the left. It was a light from Brainerd! We had arrived at this consecrated spot. All appeared happy. The doors of each cabin on the south were open, in each of which was a blazing fire, and around it the Cherokee boys were playing, unconscious of the suffering group, which was approaching. We passed by these, and through a large front yard, entered the mission house where we were received with much surprise and cordiality. Although the faces of all, except Father Hoyt, were new, yet their names and characters were familiar. We were introduced to the common sitting room, in which was a long table, surrounded by well-clad, interesting Cherokee girls, each sewing, with her work basket before her, and superintended by Sarah Hoyt. Our cares and sorrows in this delightful moment were forgotten, and we felt ourselves more than compensated for all our sufferings. A good supper was soon provided, and we were agreeably surprised in finding some little luxuries, to which we thought we had forever bid adieu. These, however, were only for the stranger and the sick. In the beloved missionaries we found all our lost friends,—father, mother, brother and sister. From that hour we no more felt ourselves strangers. After surrounding the domestic altar, and offering our united thanks for our late preservation and safe arrival, we were conducted upstairs, and through the long piazza, into a neatly furnished chamber, where was a good fire. This room, they devoted to myself and children. All these things so far exceeded my expectations and were so necessary to our

comfort that my heart must have been hard indeed, not to have been warmed with ardent gratitude to the great Giver of all; and to the dear missionaries, whom by their kindness, thus cheered our drooping spirits."

MEETING THE MISSION FAMILY

"Our sleep was very sweet this night, nor as we had so much reason to fear from our late exposure, did any of us awake with freezing chills, or burning fevers. The early sound of the morning bell awoke us, and soon the second bell summoned us to prayers. As yet we had seen nothing which might not appear in a common well-regulated family. Now we were led to the dining room where was assembled the precious charge of the Christian public, of the American Board and of the mission family.

"More than ninety interesting, happy children were assembled for prayers. We heard these natives of the forest, descendants of the heathen, sing the praises of God; saw them bow the knee to Jehovah, and acknowledge the Redeemer. We were now members of the mission family, and were affectionately introduced as such, by Mr. Hoyt to the children, and with them were seated at the mission table. The missionaries continued to treat us with most unmerited kindness. We shall never cease to love them as our best friends. The children of the school were much endeared by their affectionate manners, which were truly interesting. The dining room was furnished with five long tables, all set with pewter plates, tin cups, and iron spoons. No articles of china, or even earthen were used. No sugar, butter, cheese, nor sweetmeats were seen.

"Delightful as social intercourse must be in the mission family, we found but few opportunities of spending an

evening as a domestic circle. In one of these, the conversation turned to a book written by the late president of the American Bible Society, entitled, "The Star of the West." Elijah Hicks, son of the venerable Charles R. Hicks, and clerk of the nation, was one of the circle. His presence would not have disgraced any circle, either in appearance, manner, or conversation. He listened to our various remarks with deep attention, but gave not his opinion. At length, with much propriety of manner and expression, he asked, " 'Whether our divines generally supposed the return of the Jews, predicted by the Prophets was a spiritual or a temporal return?' "

PROGRESS AMONG THE INDIANS

"Some of the Indians live in very decent style, cultivate lands and keep good tables. Two Cherokees by the name of Vann, have built good brick houses. The missionaries are richly compensated for all their trials, in knowing that a nation is reaping not only temporal, but eternal benefit, through their exertions. Father Hoyt says that nothing of any consequence transpires at the mission but it is known throughout the nation in three days. Circumstances, little thought of by ourselves, would excite much interest and observation through the land.

"I saw but one intoxicated person, and did not hear an oath from a Cherokee during the term of three months. Theft was common, but the nation condemned it. During our stay, two horses were stolen from the mission. Several Cherokees assured us their safe return, and with our brother Reed, were many days engaged in their pursuit. The thieves were often heard of in different parts of the nation, and finding no prospect of escape, they returned the horses loose upon the mountains, where they were soon

found. Several small articles had also been stolen. Mr. Butler made a journey to the venerable Charles R. Hicks for redress. The good man said, 'We are to have a council next week. I will have a talk, and you will hear no more of it!'

"John Newton was supposed to be a Christian youth, though not more than twelve years old, and we not only loved but respected him. There was a degree of dignity in his person and deportment, which I have rarely seen equalled in a youth of his age. On one of the first Sabbaths after our arrival, he was studying Emerson's catechism. On many cold mornings when the children were trying to secure a good seat, or wrapping themselves warmly in their blankets, John Newton, without a blanket, or choice of seat, and regardless of the cold, was ever sitting erect, with his eyes fixed on the reader, or devotionally attending to the prayer. He always appeared above the vanities of childhood and youth.

"Delilah Fields, we have reason to think, is pious. I had brought some presents from the children of Miss G.'s school to the children at Brainerd, and as Delilah frequently wrote letters, I requested her to write to Miss G. She declined, by saying she would not have time. One evening, however, she came into my room and said she would now write. I immediately supplied her with pen and paper, but she said she did not know what to write. I dictated the first sentence, and thought, perhaps, I must tell her all; but, being much engaged, forgot the subject. In about a half an hour Delilah brought me the finished letter. I was surprised at her facility in writing, exclaimed, 'Not one of Miss G.'s scholars can write so well.' It would scarcely be believed that either the writing or composition was the performance of a child hardly

twelve years old, much less of a Cherokee girl who had been at school but two years.

"John Arch is pious, and greatly esteemed by the mission family. He is Mr. Butrick's assistant in the study of the Cherokee language. I asked if he did not believe the language would be lost in a few generations? He reluctantly answered, 'Yes.' I asked if he were willing? 'I had rather it would remain as it is,' he replied. I thought there was something of patriotism in his melancholy look and answer. He also writes letters, which may well be admired, considering that two years ago he was wandering in the dark mountains till he met Mr. Hall at Knoxville, who advised him to come to Brainerd."

CHAPTER XV

JOHN ARCH

A HUNDRED and thirty years ago, an Indian carrying a rifle in his hand and walking a bit stooped, bearing on his back a queer load for a hunter, might have been met in the Great Smoky Mountains. Down the ravines, over rough places, on through the dense thickets of mountain laurel and rhododendron, and winding among the stretches of big timber, the odd traveler slowly moved, until this old experienced hunter, who was as much a part of the mountain as the trees and wild animals, halted. Now he creeps stealthily without making a noise. He bends his muscular frame until a second human head is seen to peep weirdly over the hunter's shoulders, and then the child (which makes up the odd-looking bundle humped on the old man's back) whispers into his father's ear that the much coveted deer has not yet sensed his approach. A child has keen eyes that become almost telescopic when searching the woods for large wild animals. This Cherokee bear and deer hunter had the advantage of using two sets of eyes. The boy's mother had died, and since the father was a professional hunter, he was making the best of the misfortune which had befallen him. One set of eyes was constantly directed to the ground that would insure him of no misstep and that no dry twig would be broken to frighten away the prospective wild game. The boy's set of eyes, the keener of the two, kept wide open and pene-

trated the forest for rods ahead, striving for the welcome sight of a deer, a bear or a wild turkey.

When within shooting distance, the father lifted the gun and brought his quarry to the ground without even removing the child from his back. He had been shooting so long that when he took aim and pulled the trigger, there was no ammunition wasted.

A few years afterwards, when this Indian boy had grown older, but still not strong enough to hold a gun on the level, the father rested it on a log or a limb and his child was permitted to enjoy the greatest thrill that was ever handed down by his roving ancestors. In this manner the lad was permitted to kill many deer and wild turkeys before he was old enough to tramp the mountains alone.

When he had grown stronger, his father presented him with a light gun, and sometimes left him all day long at a hunting camp while he went on an expedition in a country too remote and far too rough for a lad to venture. Frequently when the father returned, he found that his boy had also been successful in shooting a wild turkey that wandered too near the camp. If distance and fatigue, or more favorable prospects for the morrow kept the Cherokee from returning to his child, the boy was brave enough to go to sleep and spend the night alone without any uneasiness as to his father's safety and prompt return on the following day.

The person who is familiar with the life and habits of the common Wolf Spider who carries her children on her back as she walks through the grassy meadow or on the lawn as she pounces upon her insect prey, sees in her plan almost a perfect likeness in the manner that the father of John Arch taught his Indian son how to become an expert hunter, for it was John Arch's father who went

hunting in the Great Smoky Mountains carrying his child upon his back, as described in the preceding paragraphs.

When the boy was thoroughly skilled with a gun, and could bring down a wild animal with the first shot, as the child of the Wolf Spider is forced by its mother when it learns how to capture insects, to get off her back, and go out and hunt on its own responsibility, so John Arch's father gave him a good rifle and turned him loose in the woods as a hunter. With constant and careful training, it was no wonder that John Arch became the most expert marksman, the most successful hunter in the Unaka or Smoky Mountains. When on a hunting trip, he always returned with more game than any of his companions who accompanied him to the forests. On his arrival at the Indian village, his reputation as a hunter was greatly increased and the inhabitants praised him most highly. The person who was expert with a gun in his days was as greatly admired and appreciated as is a person to-day who writes a masterpiece of literary production.

But there was one day awaiting John Arch in the future that was destined to bring him humiliation. Something had gone wrong with his trusted gun and he had to borrow an inferior one. On his return from that day's hunt in the mountains, his companion had made the better record in killing wild game. Atsi, which was John Arch's Cherokee name, was a proud Indian. His misfortune that day so mortified him that after that trip he resolved to abandon hunting as a profession—the most fascinating life of any American Indian. Indeed, the meditation of his failure as a hunter so depressed him that life seemed to hold nothing worth while for him in the future.

Soon, thereafter, he happened to make a trip to Knoxville, Tennessee, with some Indian companions, still feel-

ing very much depressed in spirits. In Knoxville, he met Mr. Hall, an assistant missionary, who told John Arch all about the school at Brainerd. This information fired the ambition of the self-deposed hunter, and he, without waiting to go back home, set out on foot to find Brainerd. In proceeding on the way, he traveled in a country through which he had never passed before. He stopped at Red Clay, Georgia, and called on Charles R. Hicks, who gave him specific directions how to find the Brainerd Mission.

John Arch was born about the year 1797 in a beautiful country in North Carolina, surrounded by almost impassable mountains, known as Nun-ti-ya-lee. John Arch was about twenty-one years old when he came to the Brainerd Mission.

The untidy condition of his dress on the day he reached the mission has been described in a preceding chapter. It was with much reluctance that the teachers at Brainerd could decide to admit him to that institution. Although he had not been in this part of the country before, he had been on a trip to the city of Washington and had had the rare pleasure of meeting President James Madison who gave the Indian boy a great deal of encouragement.

While John Arch had noble ambitions, yet he would have been forever seriously handicapped had it not been for the misfortune of the unsuccessful hunting trip, a disappointment that sent him in search of an education. It was no wonder that at the Brainerd Mission the teachers experienced no difficulty in swapping some clean clothes for his gun.

Soon after coming to Brainerd, he related to one of the missionaries his religious views. Briefly, he believed that there was a Great Being who dwelt above and who devoted no attention or care to the creatures living below.

It was his belief that when a man died, he was dead forever without any hope of a future life. He admitted that he had sometimes heard it stated that after death good people went to a happy country and the wicked went on to a place of misery, and although he sometimes felt that this might be true, it gave him no hope, for he regarded himself a bad Indian.

Not long after he entered school at Brainerd, John Arch became a Christian and led a most devout life the remainder of his brief career.

He became so passionately fond of the wholesome atmosphere at Brainerd that when his father came to take him back home in 1819, after John had been in school about ten months, he became deeply grieved. He had a burning ambition to get an education that he might go back to his people in the mountains and lead them out of their ignorance. After John's father had visited the mission and school for several days, the missionaries succeeded in persuading him to leave his son with them.

As savage as John Arch looked when he arrived at Brainerd, he had hidden behind his dirty clothes a heart that yearned for education, purity and justice. He learned to read and write with facility in a few months and was recognized as having sufficient ability to assist in the preparation of a spelling book to be published in the Cherokee language.

When Rev. Eagleton took John to Kingston, Tennessee, to give him access to an academy where he thought he might make more rapid progress, this Indian became so shocked at listening to the profanity of the whites that he left the school and returned to Brainerd. His affection for the mission and its leaders was so great that in the early part of 1820, when it was planned to send him to the

Foreign Mission School in Connecticut, he was unwilling to leave Brainerd.

When it was voted to establish a school at Creek Path, Alabama, Daniel S. Butrick was assigned to that new station. He chose for his assistant John Arch. At the time the school was opened, people of all ages flocked to it for instruction. The work of giving elementary instruction in the school was left largely to John Arch. In the meanwhile, he was being deprived of a continuance of his own education. In the fall of that year, he returned to Brainerd. Catherine Brown, the Cherokee convert, was sent to Creek Path to take his place as teacher.

Before resuming his studies at Brainerd, John Arch was permitted to go on a visit to his father in the Smoky Mountains. There he became so sorely depressed over the ignorant state of the people that he began preaching to them. It was while he was on this trip that he attended the meeting of the North Carolina Presbyterian Society and sat at a table with five hundred people. He attracted no little attention and before adjournment, John Arch was made a life member of that organization.

About this time, John Arch was made happy to witness the Cherokees, through its National Council, divide the country into eight districts, and appoint four circuit judges. They also levied a tax to erect a suitable courthouse in each district, and adopt other measures that were designed to facilitate and secure the administration of justice.

John Arch continued as the chief interpreter at Brainerd until October, 1821, when his services were again demanded at Creek Path. In 1822, when Mr. Butrick went on a two months' tour among the most important Cherokee towns, John Arch accompanied him as his interpreter.

From Mr. Butrick's journal the following selections are taken:

"January 19, 1822. Rode to Chief Boot's in Turkeytown. The Boot attends to public business when the King is absent, or in ill health, and is his Creek interpreter. Though a Cherokee, he was brought up among the Creeks, and though he now lives with the Cherokees, and is one of their principal chiefs, yet he is also a chief among the Creeks, and attends their councils. He does not understand English. Few men, in any nation, understand the art of pleasing and rendering their company agreeable, better than he.

"We made known to him the object of our journey. He appeared peculiarly thankful and told us he would lay the subject before the other chiefs in the town, and let us know the result of their consultation. After some conversation, his wife, an old woman, told us that when she was a small child, the old people used to say, that good people would come to instruct the Cherokees at some future period, and that perhaps she and others of her age would live to see the day; and now she thought perhaps we, and the other missionaries had come to give them that instruction.

"Sabbath, January 20. The chiefs assembled. I told them I should be glad to see all the people of their town, old and young, as far as practicable; but still was willing to refer it to them, to convene the people or not as they should think best.

"John Arch spent much time in talking with them respecting the school at Brainerd, and in answering objections that were sometimes made. The Boot said that our visit would be a great help to him in answering objections which some of his people made to schools, as he could now

not only tell them what John had said, but could point to him as a specimen of the advantages of education, and that he thought it would be well to have a school in each district, that the people might have more correct views of the missionaries.

"January 22. We accompanied Pathkiller and Chief Boot to the council house, about a mile distant. This house is simply three roofs, each about thirty feet long, supported by crotches, and nearly forming three sides of a square, with a fire in the middle of the area, and one nearly under the inner edge of each roof. Here we found perhaps a hundred sons and daughters of the forest. Perfect order and decency were maintained, and all the visible objects seemed to unite to render the scene and season delightful. Above were the sparkling stars, almost continually stealing my thoughts from these lower scenes to contemplate the amazing grandeur of that Divine Original, from whom they borrow all their lustre. Around was the dark but pleasant forest, as a strong wall to screen us from the sight of mortals, and shut us out from the noise and tumult of a wicked world. The rustling leaves bade us welcome to their silent retreat. At my right hand sat John Arch; at my left, the King, and next to him the Boot, and then in proper order, all the honorable of the town.

"At a suitable time, the King arose and addressed the people in a few words. After this, John explained the design of our visit, and read our letters from Brainerd and from Mr. Hicks. I then spoke. Afterward, John spoke on the importance of education and the evils of intemperate drinking.

"After we had finished our discourse, the King desired us, in token of friendship, to shake hands with all the

people. They accordingly, passed before us, with the Boot at their head. When the ceremony was over, Chief Boot made a long speech, exhorting all to attend to what they had heard; especially the young men to consider the words of their young brother, John; and the women, who had children, to endeavor to have them educated. We then called the Creeks, bade them farewell, and in company with Chief Boot, took leave of this interesting assembly.

"The people in this town are generally full-blooded Cherokees. I saw but one Cherokee, old or young, able to speak English. They appeared in almost entire darkness, respecting everything of a spiritual nature, though they were anxious to learn."

On this tour, Mr. Butrick and John Arch traveled five hundred miles and met with hundreds of Cherokees. Turkeytown was near the present town of Center, Alabama.

After his return from this journey, John Arch assisted in establishing the mission and school at Willstown, Alabama, and then was active in starting a school at Hightower. When the mission at Haweis was begun he had an important part in it.

In the spring of 1824, John Arch accompanied the secretary of the American Board on an extended trip to many important places in the Cherokee Nation and through certain parts of Alabama, traveling as far as Mayhew, Mississippi, in the Choctaw Nation. During the four hundred mile journey, John Arch served as interpreter, and his amiable disposition and gentlemanly conduct made a favorable impression wherever he went.

It was while John Arch was on this tour that he wrote the following letter to Jeremiah Evarts. The letter was written on white, unruled paper, and the handwriting is

far better and more legible than that of many university graduates. The alignment is almost perfect and the writing contains many flourishes. There were a very few misspelled words which were corrected when reproducing.

"Creek Path, Cherokee Nation, June 20, 1824.

"DEAR SIR, ESQ. EVARTS:

"This evening I thought I would write you a letter as I said I would. Soon after my arrival from the Choctaw Nation, Mr. Potter sent me to Brainerd. I was invited to go to Carmel in company with Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Hall, for the purpose of ascertaining what the Cherokee meant when he threatened Mr. Hall's life as we understood. While at Carmel, I made considerable inquiries respecting it and have found out that Mr. Hall's life was no more in danger than mine would be. True, this Cherokee came in his house having a stick and naked just as all Cherokees do when intoxicated when they mean no harm to any one. I am not acquainted with this man, but I am informed he is a friendly man and that he is truly sorry for his conduct and earnestly asks forgiveness. He thinks the good missionaries will forgive him and he will do no more hereafter. A few weeks after this he was taken by the light horse and brought at Coo-sa-wa-tee Court House and tried, but nothing was done to him, but that he was bound to the General Council next fall. What the chiefs intend to do to him, I cannot tell. All the necessary notice that ever could be taken for this offense was attended with the greatest strictness. Not a great while after this, Mr. Hall and sister Hall being discontented, wandered off to Brainerd. They are both now at Brainerd and it appears that no missionary in the Cherokee Nation can persuade him to return to Carmel. He has an idea that his useful-

ness is done and he thinks there is no especial call for him to leave this place.

"I am very sorry on Mr. Hall's account that he should be so unwilling to take that place again when the people of Carmel are so earnestly requesting him to return, but he refuses. He positively says he will not return to that place. O how solemn the people appeared, especially Christians. They all appear to be much at loss for want of a preceptor. If his object is to do good to us fellow creatures, I think Carmel is a good place for him. All the other missionaries among the Cherokees are well pleased with their lotment assigned them by the Corresponding Secretary.

"Brother Chamberlain has no interpreter. I shall expect a letter from you.

"From

"Your friend,

"JOHN ARCH.

"Mr. Jeremiah Evarts, Esquire."

In March, 1825, John Arch was attacked by a disease that eventually claimed his life. When he became unable to travel on account of dropsy, he employed his time in translating the third chapter of St. John in the Cherokee alphabet. This achievement was received with great eagerness, and it was copied many hundred times and read by thousands of Cherokees. After making a half hundred miles journey with Mr. Chamberlain, John Arch became so fatigued that he suffered a serious hemorrhage. This discouraged him from the belief of ever being well again, and since he had first come to Brainerd, he wanted to be there when the end came. Not long afterwards, Dr. Stout of Athens, Tennessee, invited him to come there for treat-

ment. But John had not been there long until the physician was convinced that his case was incurable. When John learned this, he decided to get back to Brainerd as quickly as possible and he started out on horseback. Six miles completely exhausted him. The family with whom he stopped knew him and treated him kindly until the missionaries at Brainerd brought him home in a vehicle. When he was informed, just before his death at Brainerd, June 18, 1825, that the pains that he sensed were those of dissolution, his face beamed with joy and he said, "Well, it is good!" It was fitting that he should have been buried in the Brainerd cemetery near the grave of Dr. Samuel Worcester.

Missionary Chamberlain, who knew John Arch so well, said of him:

"He, indeed, sleeps in the dust, but his memory will ever be dear to all his missionary brethren. He has been a warm friend to us, and to the cause in which we are engaged, and his loss will be severely felt. We feel ourselves admonished by this stroke. Perhaps we relied too much upon him; for we almost felt that the work could not go on without him."

Mr. Butrick said:

"This dear brother, from his conversion till his death, was a general example of piety. I cannot look back on his life and point out any particular stain in his Christian character. He was peculiarly anxious to maintain the honor of the missionary character among his people, and to shield the Christian name from reproach. Wherever he went, by answering objections, exposing calumnies, and exhibiting the excellencies of the religion of Christ, he left a sweet savor to the honor of his God, and the great benefit of his Christian brethren."

John Arch spent seven years' service at and about Brain-

erd, and one wonders without him, who the missionaries could have found to do the important work that he did? His assistance contributed largely to the success of the Brainerd Mission and other stations. In the story of the transformation of the life of this ignorant Cherokee there is revealed the miracle of the Christian religion.

CHAPTER XVI

ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSION

THE following selections from the Brainerd journal are made with a view to give the widest variety of the events that took place there, and of the mission's activities. The description of the huge stones on the top of Lookout Mountain, and the falls of Little River and the near-by relics of an ancient civilization, are of particular interest. The descriptions are of greater value since they were made before the mountain was settled by white people.

"January 5, 1823. Sabbath. Previous to the administration of the Lord's Supper, James H. Williams and Daniel Carter were baptized. David Taucheecy, John Vann, and James Fields presented a letter of recommendation from the church at Cornwall, Connecticut, and were received as members of this church. Thomas Bassel was also recommended in the same letter, but he, having gone to Taloney before the letter was received, has not yet been formally admitted.

"January 10. The Captain of the Light Horse, with four of his men, having in custody a man who has been suspected of stealing and killing hogs belonging to the mission here, came to-day. The officer says Mr. Hicks directed him to bring the suspected person to us, and if there appeared sufficient evidence to justify a trial, to bring the case before the judge.

"About two-thirds of the scholars of both schools, consisting of the best spellers, were collected this evening in the girls' school house for an exercise in spelling. They

took first a long lesson of about 300 words which had been given them in a difficult part of Webster's spelling book, and afterwards spelled about as many more, among which were nearly all the longest words in that book, each scholar spelling in his turn. In the whole exercise but six words were missed, and each of these was spelled correctly by the second scholar to whom it was put.

"February 6. The men who brought in the drove of swine, waiting to kill and weigh them, remained with us another night. At the request of the oldest man (who we find is the father of the young man) this evening was spent as the last. An attempt was made to draw the father into conversation, or in some other way to get his ideas on religious subjects, but he frankly confessed his entire ignorance.

"February 7. Very cold. Brother Ellis not being able to warm the boys' school-house, so as to keep them in a degree comfortable, dismissed the school. A snow of two or three inches which fell yesterday, lies unsoftened, which gives the appearance of a Northern winter. Twenty-eight boys in companies of four each had cut and split twenty-one cords of firewood this week before the snow fell.

"February 11. False tales of almost every description are circulated among this people against missionary operations. The following is a specimen: A traveler, who, in the language of the world, would be called a gentleman, put up at the house of a chief for the night. Finding a son of the chief who could speak English, he entered into conversation with him, pretending to be a great friend of the Cherokees. Among other things, he told the young man that the missionaries were a dangerous people; that with all their pretensions of friendship, they were endeavoring to ruin the nation; that they might get the country, that

is, obtain the land. Many people had long known this, and now they had full proof of it. The missionaries had been in secret correspondence with Governor Clark of Georgia in laying the plan for the commissioners to come and treat for their country; that the safety of the nation required that the missionaries should be driven out of the country immediately. He observed further that the Choctaws had got their eyes opened and were determined at all hazards to drive the missionaries out of their limits. The young man inquired of it, the youth replied, that he was himself well acquainted with the missionaries and all their operations; that he had been to the North among the people whence the missionaries came, and that he had just been reading a letter from a Choctaw chief intreating for more missionaries. The traveler must therefore see that he knew the whole to be false. It is perhaps unnecessary for us to say it is too late for such idle reports to have their intended effect upon the Cherokees.

"February 28. We have now in school almost twice as many boys as girls. Among the children are the following names, given by Societies or individuals who are supposed by us to contribute to the treasury at Boston for their support, except the benefactors of Eli Smith, who send their donations directly here where they are entered in our account with the treasurer of the Board, viz: Boston Recorder, John Emerson, Thomas Witherspoon, Elizabeth Kean, Nicholas Patterson, Caroline Smelt, Benjamin Tappan, Samuel Spring, Ralph Wells Gridley, Moses Hoge, Manasseh Cutler, John Knox Witherspoon, Samuel Worcester, Eli Smith, John W. Latta, Wheeler Gilbert, Louisa Battelle, Edward Hopeful and Josiah Meigs."

In the above list of Cherokee Indian students at the

Brainerd School, the first one mentioned bears the name of a Boston newspaper that later on became the *Congregationalist,* which is still published.

"July 12, 1823. A notice which we have lately seen of the escape of a bird in consequence of the protection of its feathers, while his cage was demolished by the electric-fluid, reminds us of a fact, which we witnessed last summer. During a heavy storm of thunder and rain, while some persons were standing at the door of the mission house, the lightning was seen to descend upon or near a small tree, about ten or twelve rods from the door, from which a smoke instantly arose as from the combustion of feathers, and as soon disappeared. From the circumstance of the smoke's ascending immediately after the descent of the lightning, several were induced to examine the place, when they found a small bird lifeless near the tree, with his feathers burnt and his body torn. No other effect of the lightning was to be discovered.

"August 3. A large congregation for this place assembled in and around our little house of worship. After a sermon by Mr. Butrick, Acha, and her six children were baptized. She takes the name of Mary in addition to her former name. Three of her children are members of the school. Two of these have received the names of Elizabeth Kean and Wheeler Gilbert. John Crawfish and Cornelius A. Hoyt renewed their covenant."

With all their great depth of interest in the spiritual and intellectual welfare of the Cherokees, the missionaries at Brainerd were never insensible to the wonderful natural beauty of the surrounding country. When Elias Cornelius visited Brainerd, he became greatly interested in the natural wonders and his heart was deeply stirred to the appreciation of the natural beauty of the country. Among his

records is a very striking description, though brief, of the scenery near what is now Chattanooga:

"And here [he says] I cannot forbear pausing a moment to call your attention to the grand picturesque scenery which opens to the view of the admiring spectator. The country is still possessed by the aborigines, and the hand of civilization has done but little to soften the wild aspect of nature. The Tennessee River, having concentrated into one mass the numerous streams it has received in its course of three or four hundred miles, glides through an extended valley with a rapid and overwhelming current, half a mile in width. At this place, a group of mountains stand ready to dispute its progress. First, the Lookout, an independent range commencing several miles below, presents, opposite the river's course, its bold and rocky termination of two thousand feet. Around its brow is a palisade of naked rocks, from seventy to one hundred feet. The river flows upon its base and instantly twines to the right. Passing on for six miles farther it turns again and is met by the side of Raccoon Mountain. Collecting its strength into a channel of seventy yards, it severs the mountain and rushes tumultuously through the rocky defile, wafting the trembling navigator at the rate of a mile in two or three minutes. The passage is called 'The Suck.' The summit of Lookout Mountain overlooks the whole country. And to those who can be delighted with the view of an interminable forest, penetrated by the windings of a bold river, interspersed with hundreds of verdant prairies, and broken by many ridges and mountains, furnishes in the month of May a landscape which yields to few others, in extent, variety or beauty."

On August 25, 1823, Daniel S. Butrick and a company of friends from Brainerd made a journey for the purpose

of exploring some of the natural wonders of Lookout Mountain as far south as Alabama. His description of the waterfall on the Little River and of the evidences of an ancient civilization, are no doubt the same attractions that draw the visitors to-day to the region around Mentone, Alabama. Mr. Butrick says:

"After riding about eight miles, we came to a branch of Little River, which rises on the mountain and empties into the Coosa, a few miles below Chattoogy. Our attention was first arrested by the falls [now known as De Soto Falls] a few rods above, on our left. The perpendicular fall is, I should judge, thirty feet, and the whole fall forty or fifty. At the bottom is a large reservoir of water walled on both sides by rocks of immense height. Turning our course a few rods down the river, we came to the outer wall of the fortification.

"The stones were partly fallen down and the earth had been in part formed about them. This wall is a semicircle, enclosing one or two acres of land and terminated at each end by a precipice. Within this wall is another, enclosing less ground, but made apparently stronger. The precipice between the two ends of the wall is, we judged, about 200 feet high, and is nearly perpendicular. In the side of this precipice, about fifty feet from the top, the openings of the caverns appear.

"We descended the rocks at a place where the descent is not difficult, twenty or thirty feet. We then turned to the left, gradually descending by the side of the precipice a short distance, and soon came to the first fortress.

"Just before coming to this, our passage was rather frightful. On our left was a lofty perpendicular rock extending upwards, and on our right a precipice nearly perpendicular extending downward, leaving a passage for us

of only two or three feet wide. We did not stop to examine the prospect, but contented ourselves with passing silently along to a place of greater safety.

"Here, in the side of this tremendous precipice, are four apartments of sufficient size and height for the comfortable accommodation of a large number of people. They are arched overhead and walled on all sides but one by the solid rock. From the first room we pass through a door in the partition to the second. From the second we go round the partition, near the edge of the precipice to the third; from the third, we crawl under the rock through a small hole to the fourth. Between the third and the fourth is a cavity in the rock sufficiently large for a number of persons to sit. Back of the fourth room is a small chamber into which a person may pass through a crevice in the rock. A single step from the front door of this room would precipitate a person a hundred and fifty feet.

"After examining these secure retreats, we retraced our steps to the place where we first descended the rocks. We then turned to the right and found three other fortresses, distinguished from the four by a more safe approach, and a situation more retired from a view of the tremendous precipice below.

"In the afternoon of Wednesday, we explored another cave. This cave at the mouth is about one rod wide, but so low that we were obliged to stoop as we entered. Soon it became more spacious, adorned with beautiful petrifactions of various shapes and sizes. We had not proceeded far before the passage became twenty feet high; when the cavern divided, forming upper and lower apartments. We first examined the upper room.

"Ascending about ten feet, a most striking prospect

was presented to our view: a spacious room most beautifully ornamented on all sides. Here were pillars extending to the lofty arch above; beautiful hangings of various shapes and sizes, and alcoves adorned with the richest furniture. In this subterranean chamber, we discovered a vase four or five feet in diameter, containing a quantity of cold fresh water. On one side of this, was a beautiful scallop six or eight inches high.

"After going some distance in this upper apartment, we returned and pursued our researches below, but our progress was soon arrested by deep water.

"The next day we discovered a room which escaped our notice yesterday, and which far surpassed everything of the kind, which I had seen before. It was as if nature, impatient and weary of our curiosity, had thrown open her most secret recesses and exposed to our view the delights of her heart.

"Crawling along under a low place in the cavern I saw by the glimmering of the torch, a room about ten feet square, and three or four feet high, completely arched and ornamented with the finest drapery. The floor, which was perfectly level, was covered with scallops of various dimensions and heights, some of which were nearly filled with fresh water. Petrifactions, resembling spears, guarded the roof of the avenue. Under these I crawled, and with inexpressible satisfaction entered this palace of wonders. The hangings above and on all sides, the vases below, in short the beauty of the whole scene, entirely surpassed any description, which I can give. After contemplating this prospect, we retraced our course till we came to the mouth of the cavern, where of course, our researches ended."

Daniel S. Butrick's interest in caverns was greatly intensified, from the results of his researches disclosed in

the foregoing descriptive narrative. On August 28, he and Rev. William Chamberlain, missionary of Brainerd, made a journey to the top of Lookout Mountain to explore the "citadel of rocks," which doubtless is the same assembly of rock curiosities known to-day as Rock City.

"Saturday, August 28, 1823. In company with Mr. Chamberlain, I ascended Lookout Mountain to visit a citadel of rocks. This is just at the top of the mountain, and is composed of rocks as high as houses of one, two, or three stories. It is so situated as to afford streets and lanes and to form many convenient shelters from the heat, rain and wind. Especially we noticed one apartment twelve by fifteen and six feet high in the highest place, arched over head and walled on each side by solid rock, except an opening for a door, and one or two places in the corners, which would serve for chimneys. This natural fortress was formerly inhabited by the Creeks. We saw where they hung their meat and where they prepared their lodgings. Here, after viewing for a moment the wonders of the Omnipotence, being retired from all the world, we bowed with adoration before Him, whose favor is compared to the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.

"In the afternoon we explored a number of caves. The first we entered by a steep descent of eight or ten feet, through a small aperture. We then came to a large cavity, which extended to the right and left. We first examined the cavern on the left hand, which extended a number of rods. This was beautifully ornamented with petrifactions. Here were shelves and benches, supported, apparently, by studs and braces, above and below, and some richly ornamented with various articles of furniture. Here, also, our attention was caught by curious petrifactions, which we could almost imagine to be a diminutive

race of people standing around us in profound silence, as if struck dumb by the rash intrusion of strangers.

"After gratifying our curiosity in this secret abode of wonders, we returned and pursued our subterranean course to the right. Here we had a more beautiful and grand prospect than before. We found ourselves, not in a dark and dreary cavern, but in a richly ornamented mansion, adorned as by the cunning hands of the artist. Tables, settees, shelves and a dwarfish race, with various ornaments hanging from the roof, continually excited new admiration. After proceeding a few rods, we came to a small passage leading to another apartment of which I will not attempt a description. 'Great and marvelous are thy works, O Lord, and that my soul knoweth right well.'

"August 31. There is a man here from Samuel J. Mill's neighborhood who is known among the Cherokees by a name, which signifies wicked. The English call him Jack, and his common appellation, when he is spoken of, is Old Wicked, or Wicked Jack. This man is said to have entirely reformed in respect to his external conduct. He has expressed a great desire to stay some time with us for the purpose of being further instructed in religious knowledge. He says, however, that it is not right to spend his time in idleness, and wishes us to give him work to do. He was told that immediately after the Sabbath he should be gratified."

From a summary of Mr. Butrick's labors, during a part of the year past, it appears that he traveled about two thousand miles in the Cherokee country and held about a hundred and fifty meetings with the people. He visited eight large villages where the Gospel had never before been heard.

"September 14. The place selected by Mr. John C. Ells-

worth for a missionary station named Turnip-mountain, is now called Haweis. It is about a mile north of the Coosa River (near Rome, Georgia) and not many miles east of the chartered limits of Alabama. The site was chosen after a residence of some months in the neighborhood, and with the advice of the Cherokees. It is nearly surrounded by hills of considerable elevation, but there is level land enough for the accommodation of a small establishment. The place was a perfect wilderness last year. Now there are log buildings finished in a convenient manner for a schoolhouse, kitchen and storehouse. In the erection of these buildings the people afforded some assistance as they had previously engaged to do. A clearing of two acres is enclosed for a garden and a cornfield, which can be enlarged as the circumstances of the mission shall require. A beautiful spring at a convenient distance furnishes an abundance of pure water at all seasons. The nearest neighbor is a half mile off, and the principal settlements are in the opposite directions up and down the river, Coosa, which here runs nearly west.

"October 1, 1823. Messrs. Hoyt and Chamberlain commenced an agency for several weeks in Tennessee for the purpose of soliciting donations for the mission, and of making arrangements for obtaining supplies from that quarter. Between 900 and 1000 bushels of corn were contributed.

"November 13. McKee and Israel Folsom, two Choctaw youths having completed their term of education at the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut, arrived at Brainerd on their way home. Both are promising young men, though only McKee, the elder of the two, is professedly pious. The following notice is entered in the journal: These two young men spent a few days here when

lads going to the school at Cornwall; McKee four years ago last May, and Israel about five months after. It was truly gratifying to see them now returning to their people with the advantages of their admirable improvement in manners, in human learning and in the knowledge of religion.

"November 20. The old king, Pathkiller, called to make us a visit. He attended our Wednesday lecture and made a short speech to the congregation, a number of Cherokees being present. Mr. E. Hicks coming in early in the evening, we were providentially furnished with a good interpreter. The King appeared to be much pleased with the opportunity of conversing with us, expressed great satisfaction with what he was again permitted to see here, and in what we were doing for the general instruction of his people. He spoke with approbation of the laws, which the young chiefs are introducing, so differently from their former customs. He manifested a pleasing hope and some foreboding fears concerning the future prospects of the Nation.

"The 'foreboding fears' which are here mentioned, doubtless originated from an apprehension that the Cherokees would not long retain their territory from the eager desires of the surrounding whites. If, however, the present liberal policy of the government should be pursued, and if the Christian community should persevere in their endeavors, the next generation would see the Indians in a different condition from any which they have hitherto enjoyed. They would be raised to the dignity of intelligent men, of useful citizens, and well instructed Christians.

"November 22. The King, being detained yesterday by rain, spent a second night with us. He left us to-day with warm expressions of gratitude and good will.

"November 24. Two young men, members of the school, were examined to-day as to their hope in Christ, and were admitted candidates for baptism. They are supposed to be about twenty years of age. One of them is a full blooded Cherokee, could speak no English when he came, and now speaks it very imperfectly. The other is a half-breed and was taught to speak English when young. They are both in the most forward class in the school, and possess considerable native strength of mind.

"November 29. Several boys of the school have manifested a desire to be sent to the Foreign Mission School. We think these desires have been excited by seeing the improvement of the young Choctaws and hearing from them concerning the good people of the North. We learn also, that some of the older Cherokees have by the same means been excited greatly to desire that their sons may be favored with the same privileges. One man said he loved his children as well as anybody, but, he should be willing to have them all go, even if he should never see them again, and that he was determined to send at least one, if he did it at his own expense."

CHAPTER XVII

CHEROKEE LITERATURE

ANY nation that is without a written language of its own is so seriously handicapped that it must be bound to the miry depths of ignorance, no matter how ambitious its greatest leaders may be.

Among the Cherokees, no man of that tribe pondered more seriously over this national handicap than Sikwayi, or Sequoya, who was born about the year 1760 and lived with his mother at Tuskegee town near old Fort Loudon, Tennessee. As a boy, Sequoya became a silversmith by trade, and came up through the unsettled days of the American Revolution when he had no opportunity of acquiring an education. Indeed, he never learned to speak or to write the English language, and although he frequently visited the missions, he never abandoned his native religion. His father was believed to have been a white man, and among the whites, Sequoya was known by the name of George Guess, or Gist. About the year 1809, he became more deeply concerned in doing something to remove from the Cherokees the handicap of the lack of an alphabet. When he became a cripple for life, he was afforded the necessary time to work out some of his ideas. During his many years of hard labor and study, Sequoya faced the usual amount of ridicule that is always the unpleasant reward of every genius. Finally, in the year 1821, he was ready to announce the completion of his alphabet

and his willingness to submit it to the Cherokee leaders for making a public test of its practicability.

The alphabet proved a success, and it immediately became very popular. It was soon a common sight to witness Cherokees reading and writing in their homes and by the roadside, but it remained for Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, newly arrived missionary at Brainerd, to see in its employment in printing the great advantage it would give the Cherokees in establishing a literature of their own. The missionaries at Brainerd began to take notice of the new invention, and an extract from the Prudential Committee's report to the American Board says:

"A form of alphabet writing invented by a Cherokee named George Guess, who does not speak English, and was never taught to read English books, is attracting great notice among the people generally. Having become acquainted with the principles of the alphabet, viz: that marks can be made of the symbols of sound; this uninstructed man conceived the notion that he could express all the syllables in the Cherokee language by separate marks, or characters. On collecting all the syllables which, after long study and trial, he could recall to his memory, he found the number to be eighty-two. In order to express these, he took the letters of our alphabet for a part of them and various modifications of our letters, with some characters of his own invention for the rest. With these symbols he set about writing letters, and very soon a correspondence was actually maintained between the Cherokees in Wills Valley and their countrymen beyond the Mississippi, five hundred miles apart. This was done by individuals who could not speak English, and who had never learned any alphabet, except this syllabic one, which Guess invented, taught to others, and introduced into practice.

The interest in this matter has been increasing for the last two years, till, at length, young Cherokees travel a great distance to be instructed in this easy method of writing and reading. In three days they are able to commence letter-writing and return home to their villages prepared to teach others. It is the opinion of some of the missionaries that if the Bible were translated and printed according to the plan here described, hundreds of adult Cherokees who will never learn English, would be able to read it in a single month. Either Guess himself, or some other person, has discovered four other syllables, making all the known syllables of the Cherokee language eighty-six. This is a very curious fact, especially when it is considered that the language is very copious on some subjects, a single verb undergoing some thousands of inflections."

Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, who saw the great possibilities of Guess's alphabet, wrote the American Board the following account:

"It is well worthy of notice that Mr. Guess, the inventor, is a man past the middle age. He had seen books, and, I have been told, had an English spelling-book in his house, but he could not read a word in any language, nor speak the English language at all. His alphabet consists of eighty-six characters, each of which represents a syllable, with the exception of one, which has the sound of the English *s*, and is prefixed to other characters when required. These eighty-six characters are sufficient to write the language, at least intelligibly. The alphabet is thought by some of the Cherokees to need improvement, but as it is, it is read by a very large portion of the people, though I suppose there has been no such thing as a school in which it has been taught, and it is not more than two or three years since it was invented. A few hours of instruc-

tion are sufficient for a Cherokee to learn to read his own language intelligibly. He will not, indeed, so soon be able to read fluently, but when he has learned to read and understand, fluency will be acquired by practice. The extent of my information will not enable me to form a probable estimate of the number in the Nation who can thus read, but I am assured by those who have had the best opportunity of knowing, that there is no part of the Nation where the new alphabet is not understood. That it will prevail over every other method of writing the language, there is no doubt. If a book were printed in that character, there are those in every part of the Nation who could read it at once, and many others would only have to obtain a few hours' instruction from some friend to enable them to do so. They have but to learn their alphabet, and they can read at once. If, on the other hand, it were printed in the English character, it would be necessary to spend considerable time at school in order to be able to read, which scarcely any but children, and, doubtless for years to come, but a very small part of them could do. Probably, at least twenty, perhaps fifty times as many would read a book printed in Guess's alphabet as would read one printed with the English alphabet."

It seems that the capital letters in the English alphabet suggested the greater part of Sequoya's characters, and as in the language of the Polynesian, it is noted, that every sound terminates in a vowel.

In another letter, Dr. Worcester argued strongly for the adoption of the Sequoya alphabet, declaring in part:

"The grand consideration in favor of printing in Sequoya's is this: If books are printed in Sequoya's characters, they will be read; if any other, they will lie useless, at least many of the one would be read and few in the

other. Of this I am confident. I feel reluctant that any should be printed in English characters, because it appears so much like throwing away the money it would cost. Whether or not the impression of the Cherokees is correct, in regard to the superiority of their own alphabet for their own use, that impression they have and it is not easy to be eradicated. It would be a vain attempt to persuade them to relinquish their own method of writing. Their enthusiasm is kindled; great numbers have learned to read; they are circulating hymns and portions of the Scripture, and are writing letters every day; they have given a medal to the inventor of a wonderful method of writing their own language. They have talked much of printing in the new famous character; they have appropriated money to procure a press and types, and taken measures to ascertain the cost; some are eagerly anticipating the printing of the Word of God in a manner in which they can read and understand it. Tell them now of printing in another character, and you throw water on the fire, which you are wishing to kindle. To persuade them to learn another, would be, in general, a hopeless task. Print a book in Sequoya's and hundreds, both of adults and children, can read it the moment it is given them. In the meantime a crisis in the Nation is passing by. A few years may decide its fate; those few should be occupied in the diligent use of the means most immediately efficacious towards their moral and intellectual improvement."

Dr. Worcester was instrumental in securing the approval of the principal men of the Cherokees in having types cast in Boston of the Sequoya characters, which were ready for shipment in November, 1827. The American Board paid for all the equipment of the Indians' printing office, for which the Cherokee Nation fully reimbursed it. In the

meanwhile, a prospectus was issued for their first newspaper, entitled, *The Cherokee Phoenix.* The management of the newspaper was under direct control of the Cherokees. Accordingly, the Cherokee government engaged a printer to superintend the printing office at a salary of four hundred dollars per year, and another printer at three hundred dollars. Elias Boudinot, the Cherokee, who was sent from Brainerd to Cornwall, Connecticut, and educated, was hired as editor-in-chief at a salary of three hundred dollars a year.

Before the press and equipment were received, Dr. Samuel A. Worcester made a translation of the first five verses of the book of Genesis. Its publication in the *Missionary Herald,* December, 1827, gave it the distinction of being the first of the Sequoya's alphabet to be printed.

The press was installed at the printing plant at New Echota, Georgia, in time for the first number of the weekly *Cherokee Phoenix* to appear February 21, 1828. It was the size of the average newspaper, and according to the prospectus, the following subjects were proposed to be treated in its columns:

"1. The laws and public documents of the Nation.

"2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and the arts of civilized life, with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.

"3. The principal interesting news of the day.

"4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees."

The first number of the newspaper contained the following editorial remarks addressed especially to its white readers:

"It is necessary for our white patrons to know that this

paper is not intended as a source of profit, and that its continuance must depend in a great measure, on the liberal support which they may be pleased to grant us. Though our object is not gain, yet we wish as much patronage as will enable us to support the establishment without subjecting it to pecuniary difficulties. Those of our friends, who have done so much already for us by instructing us in the arts of civilized life and enabling us to enjoy the blessings of education and the comforts of religion, and to whose exertions may be attributed the present means of improvement in the Nation, will not think it a hard matter that their aid should now be respectfully requested. In order that our paper may have an extensive circulation in this Nation and out of it, we have fixed upon the most liberal terms possible, such in our opinion, as will render it as cheap as most of the Southern papers; and in order that our subscribers may be prompt in their remittances, we have made considerable difference between the first and last payments. Those who have any experience in the management of periodicals will be sensible how important it is, that the payments of subscribers should be prompt and regular, particularly where the existence of a paper depends upon its own income. We sincerely hope that we shall never have any occasion to complain of the delinquency of any of our patrons.

"We would now commit our feeble efforts to the good will and indulgence of the public, praying that God will attend them with His blessings, and hoping for that happy period when all the Indian tribes of America shall arise, Phoenix-like, from the ashes, and when the terms, 'Indian depredation,' 'War-whoop,' 'scalping-knife,' and the like, shall become obsolete, and forever be 'buried deep under ground.'

"To subscribers who can read English, the price of the paper is $2.50 annually, if paid in advance; $3, if payment is delayed six months; and $3.50, if not paid till the end of the year. Letters can be sent by mail to the Editor, at New Echota, Cherokee Nation.

"On a future occasion, we shall give an outline of the Constitution framed and adopted by the Cherokee last summer and published in Cherokee and English in the first numbers of the *Phoenix*. We shall also give a more particular illustration of the syllabic alphabet than has yet appeared on our pages. Meanwhile, to excite the attention and curiosity of the philosophic reader, the following facts are published respecting the inventor, George Guess. They were communicated from Washington by the Corresponding Secretary who had an interview with Guess early in the past month. It should be remarked, that Guess has associated himself with his countrymen in the Arkansas, and had come to Washington with several others, on an embassy to the United States government. Mr. David Brown, well known to the patrons of Indian missions, had accompanied them as secretary of the delegation.

"Mr. Jeremiah Evarts asked Sequoya, by David Brown as interpreter, to tell what induced him to form an alphabet and how he proceeded doing it. His reply was as follows:

"He had observed, that many things were found out by men, and known in the world, but that this knowledge escaped and was lost, for want of some way to preserve it. He had also observed white people write things on paper, and he had seen books; and he knew, that what was written down remained and was not forgotten. He had attempted, therefore, to fix certain marks for sounds, and thought that

if he could make things fast on paper, it would be like catching a wild animal and taming it. He had found great difficulty in proceeding with this alphabet, as he forgot the sounds, which he had assigned to marks, and he was much puzzled about a character of the hissing sound; but when this point was settled, he proceeded easily and rapidly. This alphabet cost him much study. He afterwards made an alphabet for the pen (that is for speedy writing), the characters of which he wrote under the corresponding characters of the other.

"Sequoya is about fifty years old, modest in appearance, and was, at the interview mentioned, dressed in the costume of his country. He speaks only the Cherokee language."

Sequoya's syllabary was reduced to eighty-five characters, and of his invention, the author of the *Nineteenth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, says:

"In the various schemes of symbolic thought representation, from the simple pictograph of the primitive man to the finished alphabet of the civilized nations, our own system, although not yet perfect, stands at the head of the list, the result of three thousand years of development by Egyptian, Phœnician and Greek. Sequoya's syllabary, the unaided work of an uneducated Indian reared amid semi-savage surroundings, stands second. Twelve years of his life are said to have been given to his great work."

Sequoya was ever active in introducing his invention among his Nation, and in 1822 he went on a visit to the Cherokees west of the Mississippi and found such a friend in Chief Takatoka that, the following year, Sequoya be-

came a permanent member of the Western division of Cherokees.

The prime objective of this unique American Indian was to do something for uplifting his tribe, and while the way was open for him to become wealthy, the possibilities for personal gain never engaged his thoughts. Except for a gift of a half thousand dollars as a partial reward for his great invention, the Cherokee Nation granted him a pension of three hundred dollars annually for life, thus distinguishing him as the only literary person in the United States ever to receive a pension. However, Sequoya had much honor heaped on him, and besides being the recipient of a well-deserved medal, in 1847, Stephen L. Endlicher in his *Synopsis Coniferarum* gave the generic name of Sequoia to the Big Trees of California in honor of the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. Sequoia National Park was also named for him.

In later years, Sequoya's mind was burdened with the plan of working out a universal Indian alphabet, and he greatly concerned himself, also, on the traditional report of a lost band of Cherokees somewhere in the western mountains.

In 1841 and 1842 a few of his comrades joined him, and with an ox cart loaded with papers and provisions, they made a number of journeys to the West. In 1848 he ventured on another tour to the northern part of Mexico in search of a lost band of Cherokees, but he was too old and feeble to endure the hardships and died in August, 1848, in the village of San Fernando, Mexico.

It required only a short time to prove that Dr. Samuel A. Worcester's theory was correct, when he was insistent that the American Board should adopt the Cherokee alphabet in printing, for up to September, 1833, from their

press at New Echota, had been printed 14,650 copies of religious books, totaling 733,800 pages. Elias Boudinot and Dr. Samuel A. Worcester were kept busy making translations and preparing original manuscripts to be printed in the Sequoya alphabet.

CHAPTER XVIII

GENERAL NOTES CONCERNING THE MISSION

THE following notes have been selected from many reports and records of the events and activities at Brainerd, the parent institution, and other missions and schools in its vicinity. On the whole, these supply the best evidence that the work done at these missions has been the prime factor in aiding the Cherokees in their rapid advance in civilization.

Messrs. Mills, Reece, Downing and Huss, whose names are mentioned by Dr. Worcester in the following extract from a letter, are Cherokees. The report concerns some meetings that followed the examination of the schools in August, 1826.

"Our first meeting was a lecture preparatory to the Lord's Supper on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Reece interpreted the sermon, after which Mr. Huss and Mr. Downing addressed the people in their own language. In the evening there was another meeting at which time, except that spent in prayer and singing, chiefly in Cherokee, was occupied by addresses from Mr. Mills and Mr. Reece in the same language. On Sunday morning a sermon and communion service were interpreted by Mr. Reece. By this time so great a number of people had collected at the schoolhouse, with all the seats for which room could be found was crowded to the utmost, and the number ex-

cluded by want of room, was considerable. At another meeting in the afternoon, addresses were made by a man called the Whirlwind, a member of the Methodist church, and by Mr. Huss, in their native tongue."

On July 4, 1827, almost a year later, Dr. Worcester made the following report of the examination of the schools at Brainerd:

"The annual examination at this station is now past, and the task has been urged upon me in giving you some account of their appearance.

"The examination was on June 25. The assembly convened on the occasion was by no means so great as last year; owing chiefly, I suppose, to the fact that people had been hindered in their farming by rainy weather till they were very much pressed with business and to the appointment of a national council on the same day.

"The girls of the first class read a lesson in Genesis; of thirty-nine questions asked, all except two were rightly answered.

"Of twenty-six questions asked the girls of the second class, there were six erroneous answers. These two classes were given a test in spelling nineteen words with their definitions from Webster's. Only seven errors were made. Of sixty-two questions given in Geography, only one error was made. Of sixty-four questions asked from Cummings' First Lessons in Geography, only two mistakes were made. Eighty-four questions were given, taken promiscuously from various parts of the book. Only six mistakes were recorded.

"The third class read in the New Testament. Of twenty-five questions asked two were answered incorrectly. Of thirty-six words given from Webster's Spelling Book, two were misspelt.

"Fourth class, Maria (Tsi-na-su), Eliza North, Catherine Bigbear (Betsy), and U-ta-yi (Lydia Huntley). They read in a little book entitled the "Raven and Dove," and spelt eleven words from Webster's, all correct.

"Fifth class, Nancy Cherokee, Ku-ta-yi, who entered the school October 25, and Jane, October 4, 1826, read and spelt twelve words each. Two misspelt in the first lesson, none in the second.

"The next day I visited the boys' school. Five of the boys of the first class consisting of Thomas Witherspoon, Samuel Worcester, Georgia McPherson, William Brewer, and Lewis C. Strait read from Marshall's Reading Lessons, and recited in Cumming's First Lessons in Geography. One hundred and sixty-two questions were chosen promiscuously throughout the book, of which three only were incorrectly answered."

There were also second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh classes at the boys' school examined, and the following report of the examination of a few members of class four is given as a fair example of the result of the examination:

"Fourth class, consisting of John Knox Witherspoon, Adam Empie, Tsi-saw-hwi-ski, and U-law-gaw-ti, read in the New Testament; spelt eleven words from Marshall's Table 9, recited from Webster's Spelling Book all the days of the week, the months of the year, the seasons, and they also gave tables of money, measures and recited the table of abbreviations without error."

At Creek Path, Rev. John Allen, who had no connection with the American Board, was so favorably impressed with his observation of the progress at the school that he wrote a letter giving his impressions to the corresponding secretary, of which the following are a few extracts:

"Huntsville, Alabama, September 24, 1827.

"I have lately visited Creek Path for the purpose of attending the examination of the school there, and assisting Mr. Potter in administering the sacrament. I propose to give you some account of my visit. This notice will not probably be less acceptable because presented by one who has no connection with the American Board. Not that I suppose, for a moment, that a missionary cannot give an impartial account of his efforts among the heathen; for I am persuaded that, in many instances, such accounts fall short of the truth. Indeed, sir, I apprehend that no adequate account can be given of the happy change produced by the Gospel on a heathen convert. Any terms which we might use would utterly fail of conveying a suitable impression. I am here forcibly reminded of the old adage, 'Seeing is believing.'

"The school at Creek Path is composed of many Indian children of various ages, and in various stages of improvement. The examination commenced after prayer by exercises in reading. A very considerable portion of the scholars can read with fluency. This acquisition, by a Cherokee child is not made but with considerable difficulty; our language abounding so much more with consonants than theirs, renders the pronunciation of it with any tolerable degree of accuracy a very serious task to them. It was truly pleasant to witness their success in obviating the difficulty. Some of them, I am persuaded, read as well as any children of the same age among the whites. The next exercise to which our attention was called, was spelling. In this branch they acquitted themselves with great propriety. A few words were spelled wrong, and but few, out of a considerable number. To see these children of the forest advancing in the first

elements of knowledge, was truly gratifying; but the pleasure was still greater on finding a much larger number of them than I had anticipated, possessing quite a respectable knowledge of grammar and geography. The examinations in these branches was thorough and highly satisfactory. In addition to this, a few of the most advanced pupils stood a very particular examination in the history of this country, the different periods of its settlement by whites, and of their wars with the Indians. On this subject many questions were asked and readily answered, which indicated a progress in historical knowledge not surpassed, I believe, in many of our best regulated academies. But this was not all. The audience were next to be gratified by an exhibition of speaking talent. Several single speeches, and a very interesting dialogue, founded on the story of Joseph and his brethren, were spoken uncommonly well. This was indeed novel and unexpected; and though the children had never witnessed anything of the kind in their lives, yet I am confident I do not exaggerate when I say that the performance was excellent. The speech of Brutus on the death of Cæsar, and that of Mark Anthony on the same occasion, were spoken by two boys with great animation. It was taken from the Columbian Orator, attributed to an Indian, and begins with the words, 'Fathers, when you crossed the great waters.' This piece, as you may suppose, appeared quite in keeping with the little Cherokee orator, who delivered it with great propriety. After this entertaining exercise, the girls were called on to exhibit specimens of their work. Of their skill in this manner I could not so well judge. A lady from Huntsville, however, who was present, assured me that their performance in this department gave pleasing proof of their ingenuity in the use of the needle.

"After this the children were catechised. Their answers

were generally prompt and accurate; evincing that they had been faithfully instructed in the important principles of Christianity. The highly interesting exercises of the day were concluded by two addresses and a prayer. One of the addresses was made by an aged chief in the Cherokee language."

THE ADDRESS MADE BY THE CHIEF

David Brown, brother of Catherine Brown, who was educated at the Cornwall School, was present and made a translation of the address of the Cherokee chief referred to by Rev. Allen. This chief, who was the speaker of that part of the Cherokee Nation near Creek Path, formerly believed the school there would do little if any good. This old Cherokee said:

"Dear Children, I often speak to you, and encourage you to continue in the pursuit of useful knowledge; such knowledge as will be for your own good, and that of your country. You are engaged in a good thing. I am always pleased to see the progress you are making in learning. I feel that much depends on you. On you depends the future welfare of your country.

"When I was young there were no schools among us. No one to teach us such learning as you are now obtaining. My lot was quite different from yours. You have here many advantages. Improve them. Pursue the paths of virtue and knowledge. Some of your fathers who first agreed for the teachers to come among us are now no more. They are gone.

"It is now some years since a school was established in Creek Path, your native place. I myself aided to build the first schoolhouse. At first the children did not learn very fast. But now since the establishment of a school at this place, they are doing much better. I have reason

to believe you are learning very fast as might be expected. Some of you have been in school five years and some not so long. You have now acquired considerable knowledge. By and by you will have more. This gives me great satisfaction. Remember the whites are near us. With them we have constant intercourse, and you must be sensible, that unless you can speak their language, read and write as they do, they will be able to cheat you and trample on your rights. Be diligent therefore in your studies, and let nothing hinder you from them. Do not quarrel with each other. Aid one another in your useful employ; obey your teachers and walk in the way they tell you."

GENERAL NOTES

In an address which was printed in Philadelphia, Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix,* stated that in 1826 there were 22,000 cattle, 7,600 horses, 46,000 swine, 2,500 sheep, 762 looms, 2,488 spinning wheels, 172 wagons, 2,943 plows, 10 saw-mills, 31 grist mills, 62 blacksmith shops, 8 cotton machines, 18 schools, 18 ferries, and a number of public roads in the Cherokee Nation. In one Indian district alone, that year, there were upwards of 1,000 volumes of good books, and eleven different periodical papers—both religious and political—were subscribed for and perused thoroughly. For this rapid rise in adopting the ways of civilized nations, the schools and missions were largely responsible.

In 1827, Dr. Worcester moved from Brainerd to New Echota to devote most of his time to studying the Cherokee language and to translating Christian literature, preparing Cherokee school books and other Indian literature in anticipation of establishing a printing press there.

The American Board was asked by the Cherokees to

attend to having the type cast. Punches were cut, and types were cast after the model of Sequoya's alphabet at the foundry of Baker and Greele, Boston. A font of English type was also obtained including a printing press of a superior kind.

On February 18, 1828, the mission suffered a very great loss in the death of Rev. Ard Hoyt at the Willstown station. He was greatly beloved by the Cherokees. That same year, the mission had its problem of dealing with the whiskey evil increased by the establishment of a distillery in the Willstown community.

The progress of the Cherokees never seemed quite so rapid as it did at this time. The inspiration that the Sequoya alphabet gave them when it was set in type and literature was printed is indescribable. In 1829, the following notes were published, which are quite significant:

"More than a hundred of the scholars reside in the mission families, performing various kinds of labor, and are trained up like children of Christian parents. About 250 of them have left the school at Brainerd alone, most of them having made considerable advance in knowledge. Parents manifest an increasing desire to have their children instructed, and the number of boarding scholars might be enlarged to almost any extent.

"The press is owned by the Cherokee government, and is operated and worked by men of their appointment. It, however, facilitates the labors of the missionaries and the diffusion of knowledge. The *Cherokee Phoenix,* a weekly newspaper, was commenced in February last. Many portions of the Scripture in the alphabet of Guess, have appeared in it. Mr. Worcester is now prosecuting the study of the language for the purpose of preparing school-books. The principal labors of his is devoted to translations. A

hymn-book and the Gospel of Matthew have been printed. The edition consisted of 1,000 copies. The hymn-books are nearly all distributed. To translate the Scriptures into Cherokee, or any other language indeed, requires great care, caution and diligence. The next work in this department, to which Mr. Worcester will apply himself, is the litany of the United Brethren, which the missionaries of that denomination have solicited him to translate. He will then probably take up some religious tracts which will be printed at the charge of the American Tract Society."

LETTER FROM DR. WORCESTER

"New Echota, July 29, 1829.

"DEAR SIR:

"I wish you, if it be approved, to procure for this station, a book-binder's apparatus for trimming books. It need not be large. I should have mentioned it sooner but I thought of making it here, which I conclude I cannot well accomplish.

"We completed the translation of Matthew yesterday. The proof of the fifth form have been struck off to-day, leaving the last chapter and a few verses of the 27th to make a little additional form.

"Your letter informing me of the purchase of ink came to hand last week. The circular from the Corresponding Secretary, which has been received at the stations, has not come to me.

"In haste,

"Very affectionately yours,

S. A. WORCESTER."

"R. Hill, Esq.,
"Treasurer, A. B. C. F. M."

THE FIRST EXECUTION

When we consider the frequency of crime in civilized nations, especially how common it is in the United States to-day, and compare the infrequency of it among the Cherokees, in pondering over the subject, the reader is likely to wonder, after all, if America does not have more savages to-day than when it was owned by the aborigines! The following is an account of the first execution in the Cherokee Nation under its new code of laws, reported by Rev. Chamberlain of Brainerd:

"We were informed by Mr. L., who returned last night from Chattooga, that Rhoads, a Creek man, residing in this nation had a regular trial for murder last Friday, between the hours of 12 and 1. He says the jury were all in tears when they brought in their verdict. The judge was much affected when he pronounced the sentence. All the men, women, and children present fasted from the time he was condemned till after the execution, and were most of the time engaged in praying, singing and exhortation. The prisoner took an active part in the devotional exercises. He stood in the cart under the gallows, and delivered an affecting address, after which he joined with the people in singing a hymn, and then kneeled down over his coffin and prayed. Some of his last words were written down by a Cherokee man. He has favored me with a copy of what he wrote, and perhaps a few extracts from it will not be uninteresting:

" 'My friends, I want you to look at me and take warning. My bad conduct and wickedness have brought me to this afflictive situation.

" 'We are all mortal. My life is short, but I can speak a few words. I think my mind is very much altered. I plead with my Savior for pardon. There is no one but

God who knows whether I obtain it. I know I am going into eternity, and if my mind is good toward the Savior, I shall go to the right hand of my Father.' "

TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES

The continual peddling of whiskey by the whites among the Cherokees kept the missionaries constantly employed in their battles against this evil. The temperance societies were most influential in causing the Indians to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks. The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Ellsworth, August 6, 1829, giving a state of morals of the school and mission at Brainerd!

"The moral condition of the Cherokees is steadily improving. Temperance societies are forming and men of influence and authority are using the power vested in them to promote morality. A case occurred last spring where one of the judges of the Cherokee's Circuit Court, on finding the air in the courthouse strongly impregnated with whiskey, directed the sheriff to follow certain suspected persons to their haunt in the woods, and destroy the whiskey. He succeeded, and was in the act of pouring it on the ground as the men appeared. By the same judge, six men were fined fifty dollars each for gambling, and one was fined for profaneness."

At the mission at Carmel, in Georgia, Mr. Thompson on August 12, 1829, reported the state of morals there as follows:

"The cause of temperance is rapidly advancing among this people. To those who have resided here for several years, the change is very obvious and encouraging. A temperance society has recently been formed at this place on the principal of total abstinence from the use of

spirituous liquors, except as medicine, and prohibiting its being kept in our houses, or bought or sold to any member of the family, excepting in the case mentioned above. Fourteen individuals subscribed their names to the constitution before it was taken from the mission house. The moral condition of society naturally becomes better as intemperance disappears. There appears also to be much promptness and a good degree of justice in executing the laws, and adopting the regulations established for the benefit of this nation."

BRAINERD BUILDINGS IN FLAMES

On the night of March 12, 1830, Brainerd suffered a very heavy loss by fire. Among the buildings that were destroyed were those that accommodated the families who were engaged in the instruction and the management of the boarding schools, including the dining hall, the boys' schoolhouse and lodging rooms, also the house for the farmer. The flames spread so rapidly that not over a quarter of an hour was allowed for awakening the people and saving personal property. There were about seventy persons occupying the buildings that were burned, most of them children. They made their escape from the burning buildings just in time to save themselves from injury. Much of the clothing, furniture and provisions were destroyed. This destructive fire forced the missionaries to suspend school until new buildings were erected, and it was not until the first week in January, 1832, that the mission was ready to receive scholars for the boarding school.

PROGRESS IN CIVILIZING THE INDIANS

The United States Senate passed a resolution asking information on the progress made in the last eight years in

civilizing the Indians. A letter written by Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, dated March 15, 1830, from New Echota, from which the following extracts are made, was addressed to Mr. William S. Coodey, secretary of the Cherokee Delegation to Washington, was first used by the Secretary of War in compliance with the resolution passed by the Senate:

"I cheerfully comply with your request that I would forward to you a statement respecting the progress of improvement among your people, the Cherokees. Whatever might be said of the propriety or impropriety of missionaries discussing the question of the removal of the Indians, it can hardly be doubted that it is proper for any one to give a statement of what passes under his observation in regard to the present condition of the tribes interested in that question. I shall not say anything in this communication, which I shall be unwilling to have come before the public accompanied with my proper signature if occasion require.

"Whatever deficiencies there may be in my statements, I shall use my utmost endeavor that nothing colored, nothing which will not bear the strictest scrutiny may find a place.

"It may not be amiss to state briefly what opportunities I have enjoyed of forming a judgment respecting the state of the Cherokee people. It was four years last October, since I came to the nation; during which time, I have made my home, having resided two years at Brainerd, and the remainder of the time at this place. Though I have not spent very much of the time traveling, yet I have visited almost every part of the nation, except a section in the northeast. Two annual sessions of the General Council have passed while I have been residing at the seat of gov-

ernment, at which times a great number of the people of all classes and from all parts are to be seen.

"The statistical information which has been published respecting this nation, I hope you have on hand, or will receive from some other source. It goes far towards giving a correct view of the state of the people. I have only to say, that, judging from what I see around me, I believe that a similar enumeration made the present year would show, by comparison, a rapid improvement since the census was taken.

"The printed constitution and the laws of your nation, also, you doubtless have. They show your progress in civil polity. As far as my knowledge extends they are executed with a good degree of efficiency, and their execution meets with not the least hindrance from anything like a spirit of insubordination among the people. Oaths are constantly administered in the courts of justice, and I believe I have never heard of an instance of perjury.

"It has been well observed by others, that the progress of the people in civilization is to be determined by comparing the present with the past. I can only compare what I see with what I am told has been.

"The present principal chief (John Ross) is about forty years of age. When he was a boy, his father procured him a good suit of clothes in the fashion of the sons of civilized people, but he was so ridiculed by his playmates as a white boy that he took off his new suit and refused to wear it. The editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* (Elias Boudinot) is twenty-seven years old. He well remembers that he felt awkward and ashamed of his singularity when he began to wear the dress of a white boy. Now every boy is proud of a civilized suit, and those feel awkward and ashamed of their singularity who are destitute of it. At the last

session of the General Council, I scarcely recollect having seen any members who were not clothed in the same manner as the white inhabitants of the neighboring states, and those very few (I am informed the precise number was four) who were partially clothed in Indian style were, nevertheless, very decently attired. The dress of civilized people is general throughout the nation. I have seen, I believe, only one Cherokee woman, and she an aged woman, away from her home, who was not clothed in at least a decent gown. At home only one, a very aged woman, who seemed willing to be seen in the original native dress; three or four only, who had at their own houses dressed themselves in Indian style, but hid themselves with shame at the approach of a stranger. I am thus particular, because particularity gives more accurate ideas than general statements. Among the elderly men, there is yet a considerable portion, I dare not say whether a majority or a minority, who retain the Indian dress in part. The younger men almost all dress like the whites around them, except that the greatest number wear a turban instead of a hat, and in cold weather a blanket serves for a cloak. Cloaks, however, are becoming common. There yet remains room for improvement in dress, but that improvement is making with surprising rapidity.

"The arts of spinning and weaving, the Cherokee women, generally practice. Most of the garments are of their own spinning and weaving from cotton, the product of their own fields; though considerable Northern domestic and much calico is worn, nor is silk uncommon. Numbers of men wear imported cloths, also broadcloths, and many wear mixed cotton and wool, the manufacture of their wives, but the greater part are clothed principally in cotton.

"Except the arts of spinning and weaving, but little progress has been made in manufactures. A few Cherokees, however, are mechanics. Agriculture is the principal employment and support of the people. It is the dependence of almost every family. As to the wandering part of the people who live by the chase, if they are to be found in the nation, I certainly have not found them, not even heard of them, except from the floor of Congress, and other distant sources of information. I do not know of a single family who depend, in any considerable degree, on game for a support. It is true that deer and turkeys are frequently killed, but not in any sufficient numbers to form any dependence as a means of subsistence. The land is cultivated with very different degrees of industry, but I believe that few fail of an adequate supply of food. The ground is uniformly cultivated by means of the plough, and not, as formerly by the hoe only.

"The houses of the Cherokees are of all sorts, from the elegant painted or brick mansion, down to a very mean log cabin. If we speak, however, of the mass of the people, they live in comfortable log houses, generally one story high, but frequently two; sometimes of hewn logs, and sometimes unhewn; commonly with a wooden chimney and a floor of puncheons, or what a New England man would call slabs. Their houses are not generally well furnished; many have scarcely any furniture, though a few are furnished even elegantly, and many decently. Improvement in the furniture of their houses appears to follow after improvement in dress, but at present is making rapid progress.

"As to education, the number who can read and write English is considerable, though it bears but a moderate proportion to the whole population. Among such, the

degree of improvement and intelligence is various. The Cherokee language, as far as I can judge, is read and written by a large majority of those between childhood and middle age. Only a few who are much beyond the middle age have learned.

"It will be asked, is the improvement which has been described generally among the people, and are the full-blooded Indians civilized, or only the half-breeds? I answer that, in the description which I have given, I have spoken of the mass of the people, without distinction. If it be asked, however, what class are most advanced? I answer, as a general thing, those of mixed blood. They have taken the lead, although some of the full blood are as refined as any. But, though those of mixed blood are generally in the van, as might naturally be expected, yet the whole mass of the people is on the march.

"There is one other subject on which I think it due to justice to give testimony, whatever it may be worth. Whether the Cherokees are wise in desiring to remain here or not, I express no opinion. But it is certainly just that it should be known whether or not they do, as a body, wish to remain. It is not possible for a person to dwell among them without hearing much on the subject. I have heard much. It is said, abroad, that the common people would gladly remove, but are deterred by the chiefs, and a few other influential men. It is not so. I say, with the utmost assurance, it is not so. Nothing is plainer that that it is the earnest wish of the whole body of people to remain where they are. They are not overawed by chiefs. On the other hand if there was a chief in favor of removal he would be overawed by the people. He would know that he could not open his mouth in favor of such a proposition, but on

pain, not only of the failure of his re-election, but of popular odium and scorn. The whole tide of national feeling sets in one strong unbroken current against a removal to the west.

"SAMUEL A. WORCESTER."

CHAPTER XIX

ARREST OF THE MISSIONARIES

We now approach the most dramatic event in the lives of the missionaries of Brainerd who were working among the Cherokees in the State of Georgia.

The brutal treatment received by the missionaries at the hands of the state officials who pretended to be Christians is one of the blackest stains on the character of the white race in North America. The thread of the plot to drive the missionaries from the State of Georgia extended from the officials of that state into the office of the Chief Executive of the United States at Washington.

The missionaries were giving the Indians their greatest inspiration and encouragement in their upward climb toward civilization. On July 26, 1827, the Cherokees adopted a Constitution similar to that of our own government.

The final blow came to the Indians when the State of Georgia flung justice into the mire over which unprincipled white men trod with haughty and greedy spirits. It was little wonder that the leading chiefs of the Cherokee Nation in retrospection declared that had they known that Andrew Jackson would turn against them, they would have shot him at the battle of Horseshoe Bend when they saved him and his army from being completely routed by the Creeks.

The reader to-day, in common with the Cherokees of

yesterday, marvels not over the puzzle that confronted the Indians, when, after learning the principles of the Christian religion, they wonder why it is that some of the whites are no better after having had it so long!

Some writers have expressed the belief that the quick action taken by the Georgia legislature on December 20, 1828, a month after the national election, in passing laws to gain possession of the Cherokee lands, was done at the suggestion of Andrew Jackson, the newly elected President.

The laws that were quickly enacted took over all the Cherokee land lying within the state by annexation, and gave the state jurisdiction over it all. Furthermore, it was declared that all the laws and customs of the Indians were null and void. Any person of Indian blood or descent living in the Cherokee country was prohibited from being a witness or a party to any lawsuit where the defendant was a white man. The law was to take effect on June 1, 1830.

Following the passage of these laws, the entire Cherokee country in the State of Georgia was laid off by state surveyors and mapped out into counties. These were in turn divided into land lots of a hundred and sixty acres and gold lots of forty acres each. When they were put up by the state and distributed by lottery among the whites, one ticket was available to each white citizen. Every Cherokee head of a family was allowed a reservation of a hundred and sixty acres without a deed, and his continuance depended entirely on the pleasure of the state legislature. These laws were followed by the passage of others that were favorable to the whites. Among them was one that invalidated a contract between a white man and an Indian unless it could be established by the testimony of two white witnesses. This was equivalent to canceling all

debts that the whites owed the Cherokees. The Indians were forbidden from holding council, or to hold meetings for any public purpose. Furthermore, they were not permitted to dig gold on their own land.

The State of Georgia was determined to get possession of the property of the Cherokees at all cost of integrity and honor, if necessary. To accomplish their designs, the officials reasoned that it would be easier for them to succeed by breaking up the missions within the state. To make a beginning in this direction, a law was enacted directed squarely at the missionaries. It declared that all white men who were found living on Cherokee property within the chartered limits of Georgia on or after the first day of March the next ensuing, without having taken an oath of allegiance to the state and obtained a license from the governor or his agent, should be imprisoned in the penitentiary at hard labor for a period of not less than four years. Copies of the new law were sent to the missionaries stationed at Carmel, Haweis, Hightower and New Echota.

As this unconstitutional law was aimed directly against the rights of the missionaries and the Cherokees, the missionaries resolved to disregard it and seek protection from the United States Supreme Court.

These newly passed laws were so offensive to the minds of honest people that they attracted the attention of the country's most able leaders. In the Senate of the United States on April 16, 1830, Senator Sprague of Maine directed national attention to the fact that the Georgia laws gave the Cherokees' property over to the cupidity of their white neighbors and left the Indians exposed to every outrage that lawless persons could inflict; that even robbery and murder might be committed with impunity at midday,

if not in the presence of whites who would testify against it. In an address on the subject on May 19, 1830, before the House of Representatives, Edward Everett said in part:

"They have but to cross the Cherokee lines; they have but to choose the time and the place where the eye of no white man can rest upon them, and they may burn their dwellings, waste the farm, plunder the property, assault the person, murder the children of the Cherokees of Georgia, and though hundreds of the tribe may be looking on, there is not one of them that can be permitted to bear witness against the spoiler."

The foregoing predictions were fulfilled to the letter. Unprincipled men bearing arms collected into bands, entered the Cherokee country, stole horses and cattle, took possession of the Indians' homes and other buildings, ejected the occupants and assaulted the Cherokees who tried to defend their rights. The following is presented as a fair example of many of the outrages that took place:

Near Dahlonega, Georgia, an educated Cherokee entertained two white men at supper. The hospitable Indian was almost of pure white blood. When the parents left their home for a very short while in the evening, the two white men set fire to the building, after forcing the children and their nurse into the yard. The house was burnt to the ground including its contents. The two men were captured, but when their case came up for trial, the judge dismissed the suit against them because no Indian could testify against a white man!

The Cherokees were prohibited from digging gold on their own property. For this offense they were fined and imprisoned, while at the same time, scores of white men who had sneaked into their country were permitted to mine on the same land without interference.

The first interference under the law that was passed to drive the missionaries out of Georgia came, about the twelfth to fourteenth of March, 1831, when Messrs. Isaac Proctor, Samuel A. Worcester and John Thompson were arrested and made prisoners by a Georgia colonel in command of twenty-five armed men known as the Georgia Guard, for living on Cherokee property without swearing allegiance to the State of Georgia and taking out a permit from the governor. On the fifteenth day of March, these three missionaries were taken by a writ of *habeas corpus* before the Superior Court of Gwinnett County where able counsel moved for their release on the ground that the law was unconstitutional and void. Judge Clayton, presiding over the court, overruled this motion, but he decided that inasmuch as Dr. Worcester was a postmaster at New Echota, Georgia, and all the missionaries had been employed in expending funds for civilizing the Cherokees, they were in some sense agents for the general government, and, therefore the law did not apply to them. The judge ordered the accused missionaries released, and they went back to their labors among the Indians.

To clear up some technical doubts in his own mind, Governor Gilmer of Georgia addressed a letter to the Secretary of War to ascertain if the Department considered the missionaries from Brainerd as its agents. The Secretary of War seems to have purposely evaded a direct answer, and merely stated the facts, from which he intimated that Governor Gilmer might infer a negative. Of course, the governor was quick to seize the opportunity to send a personal letter to Messrs. Butler, Proctor, Thompson, and Worcester informing them that he had sufficient evidence from the United States Government that the missionaries were not its agents. Furthermore, he informed Dr.

Worcester of his removal from the office of postmaster. The missionaries were ordered to leave the state under the threatened penalty of another arrest.

Drs. Butler and Worcester replied that they could not conscientiously obey a law that was enacted especially for their own expulsion.

In the early part of June, missionaries Butrick, Proctor, and Thompson removed their families out of the borders of the State of Georgia, but still within the Cherokee country. Rev. Proctor started a new mission at Amohee, near Candy's Creek, in Tennessee.

On June 22, a detachment of the Georgia Guard, under command of Colonel Nelson, appeared at the mission at Hightower and asked to see Mr. Thompson. They claimed the mission house, the lands and the growing crops as the property of the State of Georgia, and notified Miss Catherine Fuller, who was in charge of the mission, that the Guard would take possession and occupy the mission house the following evening. Miss Fuller immediately sent word to Rev. Thompson who dispatched a note to Colonel Nelson notifying him that he would not give his consent to the Guard occupying the house at Hightower.

The Guard became infuriated at the Thompson note and the missionary was arrested and taken through swamps and forests to Camp Gilmer fifty miles away. Although Rev. Thompson was ill and suffering severe pains at the time of his arrest, and although he owned a good horse, he was forced to walk. When he became thoroughly exhausted he was thrown rather rudely into a very uncomfortable wagon and bound in chains. After his arrival at Camp Gilmer, he was placed in prison for a very brief time. When he was removed and taken before Colonel Sanford, Commander of the Guard, Thompson was severely cen-

sured for his very great freedom of speech, and the colonel denounced the missionaries bitterly. Thompson was then released and informed that he might go where he pleased, although no means were provided for his return home.

On July 7, Dr. Samuel A. Worcester was rearrested, and his letter written while in jail, which is given below, gives a vivid word picture of the brutal treatment he received at the hands of the Georgia officers:

"Jail at Camp Gilmer, July 18, 1831.

"Early Friday morning, July 8, I with my guard, joined sergeant Brooks at the house of a neighbor, and rode thence ten miles to where Colonel Nelson was with a detachment, of which that under Mr. Brooks, by which I was arrested, was only a part. There I found the Reverend Mr. Trott, a Methodist missionary who has a Cherokee family, and a Cherokee by the name of Proctor. Proctor was chained to the wall of the house by the neck, and had another chain around his ankle. He had been arrested on Tuesday on the charge of digging for gold, chained the first night by the ankle only, the second and third by the neck to the wall and by the ankle to Mr. Trott. Mr. Trott was arrested on Wednesday and taken on horseback about ten miles to where Colonel Nelson was. He had been before arrested, and was under bonds to answer at court for the offense of residing in the nation without a license, and now was taken again, as having committed the second offense by returning to his family while the cause was pending. On Thursday he and Proctor were marched on foot twenty-two miles to the place where I found them, Proctor being chained by the neck to a wagon. This manner of treatment, I supposed, was occasioned by his having

offered resistance when arrested, and afterwards attempted to escape.

"When I was arrested, sergeant Brooks inquired the state of my family, and when told that Mrs. Worcester was still confined to her bed, remarked that he regretted that Colonel Nelson himself was not present, implying, I understood him, that if he were here, he probably would not arrest me under such circumstances. When we arrived where Colonel Nelson was, I requested Mr. Brooks to mention to him the state in which he found us, which he readily promised to do, but certainly had not fulfilled his promise when I heard him say that I was to go on to headquarters, *i.e. to this place.* Perceiving, therefore, that the state of my family was not to be regarded, I said no more.

"We were then marched on foot twenty-two miles to the same place from which Mr. Trott and Proctor were taken the day before, Proctor being again chained to the wagon. We had proceeded about three miles when we met Messrs. McLeod and Wells, two Methodist clergymen, not residing within the charter of Georgia. With leave of Colonel Nelson, they turned and rode some distance in our company. In conversation, Mr. McLeod asked Mr. Trott whether he had been chained the preceding night, and being answered in the affirmative, asked if it were according to law to chain a prisoner who manifested no disposition to escape. Mr. Trott said he thought not, but that we ought not to blame those under whose charge we were as they were obliged to act according to orders. Mr. McLeod remarked, 'It seems they proceed more by orders than by law.' This gave offense. A few words had passed between Mr. McLeod and some of the guard, when Colonel Nelson rode up, and being told

of the remark, asked Mr. McLeod where he resided. He replied, 'In Tennessee.' Colonel Nelson with a curse, ordered him to 'flank off.' Mr. McLeod, turning his horse, said, 'I will, sir, if it is your command,' but added, hastily, as he afterwards said, 'You will hear from me again.' He was then riding away, when the Colonel ordered him to halt, and then dismount and lead his horse along in the rear. He then inquired of Mr. Trott if this were 'one of the circuit riders.' Mr. Trott answered, 'Yes.' Mr. McLeod's horse was taken from him and delivered to Mr. Wells, and was declared a prisoner, and was ordered to walk with the rest. For a short distance Brooks compelled him to keep the center of the road, through mire and water, and threatening to thrust him through with the bayonet if he turned aside. In the meantime he was heaping upon all our heads loads of tremendous curses, and reviling missionaries and all ministers of the Gospel in language, which, for profaneness and obscenity, could not be exceeded. The words of our Savior he turned into ridicule, 'Fear not,' he said, tauntingly, 'Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.' The manner in which these words were uttered did not prevent me, at least, from rejoicing in the consolation they afford. Brooks was the chief speaker, and exceeded all, though some others joined him in his revilings.

"Another circumstance afterwards occurred, which was related to me by Mr. Thompson, who was an eyewitness. Mr. Wells, after Mr. McLeod's arrest, pursued his journey in the opposite direction, till met by Mr. Thompson, riding in the same direction with the guard. He then turned and rode with Mr. Thompson intending to see what should become of Mr. McLeod, and to render him any assistance

in his power. After some time they came up with the guard. When Colonel Nelson saw Mr. Wells, he ordered him to ride out of his sight, either before or behind, threatening violence if he did not. Mr. Wells, without replying, fell back a little and followed on. Colonel Nelson cut a stick, and making up to Mr. Wells, gave him a severe blow on the head. Mr. Wells then said that he had a right to travel the public road, and should do so. He persevered accordingly, and rode on till he came to a house where Mr. McLeod had requested him to stop. I know not what offense Mr. Wells had given, unless that, in conversation with me, he had expressed strong disapprobation of the policy of the State of Georgia, and the course pursued by the Executive of the United States. Towards the end of our day's journey, Mr. McLeod was afflicted with a severe pain in the hips and knees, to which he had been subject, and requested the privilege of riding. Colonel Nelson sent him answer that Proctor at first thought he could not walk, but afterwards got along very well.

"At night the four prisoners were chained together by the ankle in pairs. Sometime after we lay down, a small detachment arrived with Dr. Elizur Butler. He had been arrested at Haweis on the preceding day. After crossing a river three or four miles from home, a chain was fastened by a padlock around his neck, and the other end to the neck of a horse, by the side of which he walked. Night soon came on. The horse was kept walking at a quick pace, and Doctor Butler unable to see any obstruction which a rough wilderness road might present, and liable at any moment to fall, and so to be dragged by the neck till the horse should stop. After walking some distance in the dark, on representing the danger of the situation,

he was taken up behind the saddle, his chain still being fastened to the horse's neck, and short enough to keep his neck close to the shoulder of the guard. In this situation, the horse fell. Both riders fell under him, and neither the horse nor either of the men could rise, till others could come, and, after ascertaining their situation by the sense of feeling, roll the horse over. Doctor Butler was considerably hurt, but the soldier the more, having two ribs broken. After this, till they came to their lodging, Doctor Butler was permitted to ride; while the soldier walked. In the meantime they lost their way in the woods. However, they found a pine knot of which they made a torch by striking fire, and by this means recovered their way. Their lodging place was only fourteen miles from Doctor Butler's, but it was midnight when they arrived, well drenched with rain. When they lay down, the prisoner was chained to his bedstead by an ankle, the officer, however, putting a handkerchief around under the chain. The next day they had thirty-five miles more to travel. Doctor Butler wore the chain on his neck, but no longer fastened to the horse. He was occasionally permitted to ride, one or another of the soldiers walking in his stead. At night he was chained to Mr. McLeod and me.

"On Friday morning we had to cross the Hightower River in a boat. As the prisoners, with a part of the guard were crossing, Mr. Thompson was observed on the opposite side waiting to speak to us. At the same time Colonel Nelson and sergeant Brooks were observed in conversation. Brooks then called to those who were with us, charging them that no person should be allowed to speak with a prisoner privately, and no letter to be delivered unexamined.

"Proctor was now mounted on his own horse (which had been taken as a prize when arrested) wearing a chain as Doctor Butler had worn the day before. He had a bag of clothes for a saddle, and a rope halter instead of a bridle. No other one was chained. When we had traveled a considerable distance, four of the soldiers were so kind as to walk four or five miles and allow the prisoners to ride, for which we were told they were afterwards abused by Brooks, who now had command of the detachment, Colonel Nelson having parted from them. Afterwards Mr. Trott, being likely to fall, was mounted on Proctor's horse in his stead. Still later Mr. McLeod, having become so lame that he could scarce walk, solicited the privilege of riding. Brooks, with much cursing, compelled him to walk. Afterwards, however, he ordered Reverend J. J. Trott to dismount, and placed Mr. McLeod in his stead. Our day's journey was thirty-five miles.

"At night only Proctor was chained, Brooks having retired without giving any orders on the subject, and the officer who had charge of us not being disposed to chain us.

"The Sabbath came, and we had twenty-two miles to travel. Remonstrance would only have irritated. We were under command of armed men and must travel on. Mr. McLeod being utterly unable to walk, was mounted on Proctor's horse. Mr. Trott was allowed to ride a part of the way in the wagon, and Dr. Butler and myself two or three miles on horseback.

"Arrived here, we were, as a matter of course, marched into camp under sound of fife and drum. We were then introduced to jail, Brooks saying as we entered, 'There is where all the enemies of Georgia have to land—there and

in hell!' Happily man has not the keys to the everlasting prison. At night a white man who has a Cherokee family was added to our number.

"Our prison, when we entered it, presented no very pleasant appearance. The floor was sufficiently dirty, and there was little air or light, and a very unpleasant smell. All these evils we have in a good measure remedied, so that our dwelling is comparatively comfortable. The want of air and light we have supplied in some degree by enlarging some holes already made through the daubing of the wall, and making others new, no man forbidding us. True the floor is rough, but we contrive to sleep on it soundly enough. We have no chairs, bench or table, but these are not indispensable. We have plenty of wholesome food and good water, and a sufficient supply of blankets for the night. We have no chains to wear. Proctor's was taken off on his being put into jail. Though not at liberty, we dwell in peace, and with peace of conscience we are contented.

"On Monday Mr. Thompson and Mr. Wells came and requested an interview with us. Thompson was admitted under the restriction that no one should have any private conversation with us, or receive any papers from us without their being inspected by Colonel Nelson who was the present command, Colonel Sanford being absent. Mr. Wells was refused admittance.

"Mr. McLeod sent a note to Colonel Nelson on Monday requesting a personal interview. On Tuesday morning, Colonel Nelson sent for him and dismissed him. He was not permitted to return and bid us farewell.

"On Saturday evening, July 16, perceiving that we should probably spend the Sabbath here, we sent to Colonel Nelson the following request:

" 'Col. C. H. Nelson:

" 'Sir: If it be consistent with necessary regulations, it would be a high gratification to some of your prisoners, if Mr. Trott and Mr. Worcester might be permitted to hold a meeting to-morrow evening, at some place where such of the guard and of the neighbors as are disposed might attend. If the favor can be granted, be so kind as to give us an answer as soon as convenient. We wish to be understood that we should all greatly desire the privilege of attending.

" 'S. A. Worcester,
" 'Elizur Butler,
" 'J. J. Trott,
" 'Samuel Mayes.'

"The above note was returned with the following written on the outside: 'We view the within request as an impertinent one. If your conduct be evidence of your character and the doctrines you wish to promulgate, we are sufficiently enlightened as to both. Our object is to restrain, not to facilitate their promulgation. If your object be true piety, you can enjoy it where you are. Were we hearers, we would not be benefited, devoid as we are of confidence in your honesty.

" 'C. H. Nelson.'

"After dark we were at supper. The door of the prison was thrown open to give us light. Several of the guard came and stood by the door, and one of them commenced insulting us, and me in particular, with such language as made it appear that even sergeant Brooks could be equalled in filthiness of conversation. One or two others joined him. Such men do not consider that they are paying us a compliment by taking it for granted that profaneness and

obscenity are torture to our ears. Afterwards some of them came and lay down by our door for the apparent purpose of disturbing our rest by their talk. One re-echoed several times from the mouth of Brooks, 'Fear not, little flock.'

"From most of the individuals of the guard we have received no ill treatment; from some of them, kindness. As was, however, perhaps to be expected in our circumstances, we have received some insults, which it is trying for the spirit to bear. But we regard it as a testimony in our favor, that when the desire is to torture us, it is taken for granted that this can be best effected by uttering profane and obscene expressions in our ears.

"July 19. Yesterday Mr. Thompson and Mr. William Rogers, a Cherokee who acts as agent for the nation, arrived and presented Colonel Nelson a writ of *habeas corpus* which they had procured to remove us from this place. This would have been sooner done, but Doctor Butler and I thought best for Mr. Thompson first to consult Mr. Underwood, our counsel, who lives at considerable distance, whether that was the best course to pursue to the final result. When the writ arrived, we supposed we should be immediately taken before a court, but we still remain here.

"New Echota, July 28. After I had written the above, we still remained in jail till Thursday morning, July 21. The reason afterwards assigned by Colonel Nelson in court for our detention was, that Colonel Sanford, who returned Wednesday evening from a journey to Milledgeville, had important testimony in his possession. On Thursday morning, we were furnished with horses and set out for Lawrenceville. On the way we were taken before a justice of the peace and committed to jail, al-

though the writ of *habeas corpus* required Colonel Nelson to present us before the county court at Lawrenceville. It was understood that the constable into whose hands we were committed would wait upon the Colonel till he could attend the court. We arrived at Lawrenceville late at night. Friday was spent in a vain attempt to convene the court. On Saturday morning, Dr. Butler had a very violent and dangerous attack of bilious colic, and although by prompt and vigorous medical assistance he was relieved in a few hours, he was by no means able to attend court. The Cherokee was also unable to attend.

"The court convened, and we were presented before them, I think, at about eleven o'clock in the morning. I will not attempt to describe the proceedings. They appeared to me as singular as the attitudes in which we were presented—in the hands of a constable, already committed to jail, and at the same time in the hands of Colonel Nelson to be presented before the court to which he was required to render the reasons of our capture and detention. In the result, we were ordered to give security for our appearance at the next term of the Superior Court, or be anew committed to jail. We gave bail for our appearance, except the Cherokee, who could not at the time find any one to be his surety.

"In the course of the trial, Colonel Nelson's counsel produced as evidence in the case of Doctor Butler and myself a letter from the postmaster general to the governor, informing him of my removal from office; a letter from the Secretary of War disavowing missionaries as agents of the general government; Dr. Butler's answer and mine to the governor's letters to us, and a letter from the governor to Colonel Sanford directing him to have us arrested forthwith, and if we should be released by the

court, or give bail and return home, to have us arrested again. These letters, I suppose, were the important testimony referred to by Colonel Nelson as having been in the hands of Colonel Sanford.

"Dr. Butler and myself left Lawrenceville on Monday morning after experiencing several acts of distinguished kindness from some of the most respectable citizens which we shall gratefully remember."

CHAPTER XX

IMPRISONMENT IN THE PENITENTIARY

EVEN though Dr. Worcester was released from prison, he was aware of the danger of being repeatedly arrested, which would make his residence at New Echota impossible. To avoid this great annoyance, he chose to return to Brainerd to get from under the jurisdiction of the State of Georgia. While he was at Brainerd, his infant daughter died on Sunday, August 14, at New Echota, and on Tuesday he hastened there to comfort Mrs. Worcester in her deep grief and during her severe illness. His family visit, however, was cut short when on Wednesday evening he was decoyed to his door by a member of the Georgia Guard in disguise, and arrested. When Colonel Nelson was informed of the circumstances, Dr. Worcester was released from prison and he returned to Brainerd.

There were a number of prisoners to be tried at Lawrenceville, Georgia, September 15, 1831. Among them were Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, Dr. Elizur Butler, Rev. J. J. Trott, J. F. Wheeler, printer of the *Cherokee Phoenix,* and seven other white men who were not missionaries.

A great many Georgians disapproved the treatment that the missionaries were receiving at the hands of the state officials, but since they were powerless to act, their assistance could reach scarcely beyond an expression of sympathy. The legal firm of Chester, Harris and Underwood was engaged to defend the prisoners' cases. General Har-

den volunteered his services in their behalf, and was so deeply concerned over the unjust punishment that he declined to accept any compensation for his legal services. The crime with which all these prisoners was charged was that of living in the Cherokee country without taking the oath of allegiance to the state and obtaining a license from the governor.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and on the following day, Judge Clayton sentenced them to hard labor in the penitentiary for four years. He recommended executive clemency if they would agree to take the oath of allegiance, or to leave the Cherokee country.

The prisoners were now convicts. They had to be taken to the penitentiary at Milledgeville. When Saturday came, the sheriff's papers were not ready and at the request of the convicts, their departure for prison was postponed until after Sunday. On September 22, they arrived at the penitentiary. Governor George R. Gilmer had directed the prison inspectors to have a conversation with the convicts promptly on their arrival and learn if they would promise to leave the state provided he pardoned them. The inspectors carried out the governor's orders, and their report to him contained the conversation that had taken place with each convict. All of them agreed to the governor's terms except Drs. Samuel A. Worcester and Elizur Butler. To accept pardon would have been an acknowledgment of their approval of the unjust and unconstitutional law that sent them to prison, and the laws that robbed the Cherokees of their property and rights. The convicts who agreed were promptly released, but the prison officials became gravely concerned over the missionaries who declined to accept the governor's offer. All conceivable methods were employed to terrify them, when the officials found that

their ears were closed to persuasion. Drs. Worcester and Butler remained firm and unmoved. As a last resort, while the penitentiary officials urged the two men to accept the governor's terms, the heavy gate of the penitentiary was swung slowly to and fro, and forced to grate harshly on its old iron hinges in a last effort to terrify them with the fear of the hard life and the punishment that threatened all who entered in! But Messrs. Worcester and Butler had already made up their minds as to the course that they were going to pursue, and nothing the prison officials could do would frighten them. The missionaries knew if they accepted pardon that their act would be an acknowledgment of guilt, and they would lose the right to test the constitutionality of the offensive law that put them in prison unjustly. They also knew that the persuasion of the prison officials, which was employed to induce them to accept the governor's terms, was equal to a confession that the governor did not wish to have the validity of the law tested in the higher courts. When all hopes of their acceptance had been abandoned, the missionaries were dressed in the regular uniform of the penitentiary, thrown with the other criminals and put to hard labor. Dr. Worcester worked at the cabinetmaker's trade, and Dr. Butler was put to work at the shoemaker's bench. However, there was no prison garb or hard labor assigned to them that was successful in causing people to look on them as common criminals. The excitement in the State of Georgia was strongly in their favor. Even the keeper of the penitentiary, though obliged to enforce the rules, treated them with the utmost kindness and respect. The felons with whom the missionaries were thrown felt and acknowledged the difference between these two men and themselves who were really guilty of committing crimes.

They had not been living within the prison walls very long before they began their religious educational work among the convicts. Dr. Worcester's sermons on Sundays were well attended and deeply appreciated. At the request of the prisoners, Drs. Worcester and Butler were put in different parts of the prison to enable more of the inmates to have an opportunity to enjoy their hour of worship in the evenings. The result of this work within the prison walls was quite significant.

In the meanwhile, Mrs. Worcester and Mrs. Butler, accompanied by Rev. William Chamberlain of Brainerd, came to visit them. It was a strange experience for the two women who took books and blankets to comfort their husbands. The Cherokees were deeply grieved over the fate of the two missionaries who had worked so unselfishly and faithfully for their education and advancement. Some of the Indians sent them letters of confidence, and others sent them contributions of money.

Since the mission at Brainerd and the other stations had been established by the express sanction of the President of the United States, the Prudential Committee, on November 3, 1831, forwarded the following memorial to the President:

"To his Excellency Andrew Jackson, President of the United States. The Memorial of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions respectfully sheweth:

"That your memorialists, as a benevolent association, were authorized by a letter bearing date of May 14, 1816, from Hon. William H. Crawford, then Secretary of War, to the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, the agent of your memorialists, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, to send teachers and missionaries into the Cherokee Nation, agree-

ably to the stipulations made by the United States in treaties with the said Cherokees, to erect buildings, to establish schools, enclose lands, and make other improvements for their accommodation. Your memorialists have felt themselves further authorized and countenanced to proceed in their labors for the welfare of the Cherokees by the repeated interviews which their agents have been permitted to have with successive Presidents of the United States and the Secretaries of the War Department; also by annual reports of the several Secretaries of War, and the Messages of the Presidents made to Congress from year to year, in which the teachers and missionaries have uniformly been mentioned as entering and residing in the Indian country with the approbation of the Executive of the United States; as co-operating with the government and its agents in a benevolent and disinterested work, and as being under its patronage. Your memorialists have been further encouraged by the fact that portions of the fund appropriated by Congress for civilizing the Indians have been annually intrusted to them to expend, and that the annual reports, which the teachers have on this account been required to make to the War Department, have been uniformly approved; and also by the decided approbation which has been expressed by officers and agents of the government who have visited and inspected many of the stations. Your memorialists have been further assured of the countenance and approbation of the government by communications which they have received from the War Department, extracts from which are hereunto annexed.

"Sanctioned and patronized in this manner by the Executive of the United States, your memorialists have proceeded in their undertakings, and during the last fifteen years have erected buildings and made various other im-

provements at eight stations, at each of which, on the first of May last, there were schools with teachers and other laborers sent out by your memorialists; and at all but one of which, there were boarding schools and agricultural establishments of greater or less extent. At these schools more than four hundred Cherokee children and youth have been instructed for a longer or shorter period of time; three-quarters of whom have been boarded, and half of whom have received an English education adequate to the transactions of the common business. In sending forth and suporting teachers and other laborers, erecting buildings, making fields, providing agricultural implements and household furniture, in boarding and clothing the scholars, and in other ways for the accommodation of the schools and mission families, your memorialists have expended for the purpose of instructing and civilizing the Cherokees (in addition to above $10,000 received from the government of the United States for the same purpose) more than $110,000.

"The teachers and other missionary laborers continued to prosecute their work unmolested, until January last, when the missionaries at four stations under the patronage of your memorialists, received a communication containing a law, purporting to have been enacted at the last session of the legislature of the State of Georgia, of which the following is an extract:

" 'And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all white persons residing within the limits of the Cherokee nation on the first day of March next, or at any time thereafter, without license or permit from his excellency the governor, or from such agent as his excellency the governor shall authorize to grant such a permit or license, and who shall not have taken the oath herein after

required, shall be guilty of high misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary at hard labor for a term of not less than four years.'

"The teachers and missionaries believed this law to be an unwarranted extension of the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokee country; to be contrary to the express provisions of the treaties entered into with the Cherokees, to the Intercourse Law of 1802, and to the Constitution of the Union; and that the enforcement of it would be a gross and oppressive violation of their rights as citizens of the United States; and knowing that they were demeaning themselves in a peaceably and orderly manner, they did not feel under obligation to obey this law; but decided to look to the Government of the United States for protection at the station which they occupied, and in the work which they had undertaken and were prosecuting under its sanction and patronage.

"In regard to the meaning of the treaties and laws and those clauses of the Constitution on which they relied, they were confident, and your memorialists are confident, that they could not be mistaken.

"In the treaty of Hopewell, November 28, 1785, particularly in article 9, it is expressively stipulated that Congress shall have the exclusive right to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians. In the treaty of Holston, July 2, 1791, the same stipulations are renewed more in detail; especially in article 11 a marked distinction is made between being within the Cherokee lands and within the jurisdiction of any state. In both the treaties above named, provisions were made with special care for preventing white persons intruding on the Cherokee lands, and for punishing crimes and trespasses committed by citizens of

the United States on the Cherokees, or by the Cherokees on citizens of the United States, without the slightest allusion to the right of the authorities of any State to interfere in the case, and of course to the exclusion of all such rights.

"In the treaty of October 2, 1798, the former treaties 'are acknowledged to be in full and operative force, together with the construction and usage under their respective articles, and so to continue.' It is well known what the construction and usage had been and what it continued to be till within the last two years.

"At the close it is stipulated that this and former treaties shall be carried into effect on both sides with all good faith.

"In the treaty of October 25, 1805, the first article declares 'all former treaties which provide for the maintenance of peace and preventing crimes, are on this occasion recognized and continued in force,' and additional provisions are made in this treaty and in that of October 27 for the roads and for free passing of the United States mail, and of citizens. This right was purchased by the United States of the Cherokees, showing plainly how the two parties understood, and in practice construed the stipulations of former treaties respecting entering the country of the Cherokees, or having intercourse with them. State authority of jurisdiction is not named or alluded to.

"In the treaty of July 8, 1817, it is again stipulated that the former treaties between the Cherokees and the United States are to continue in full force; the United States to have the right of establishing factories, post roads, etc. No right of jurisdiction, or of making regulations respecting trade or intercourse, are named or recognized as belonging to the States. None of these stipulations have ever

been annulled of their force or impaired either by counter stipulations between the contradicting parties, or by construction or usage, or by the failure of the Indians to perform their part. On the contrary, the manner in which they have been construed for forty years, by all parties concerned, show what is their true meaning, and how the United States, the Cherokees and the State of Georgia, understood them.

"It was moreover expressly provided in the Indian Bill of May, 1830, that no part of that bill should be construed as to authorize measures in violation of any of the treaties existing between the United States and any of the Indian tribes.

"The intercourse law of 1802, especially sections 14, 15, 16 and 17, gives expressly the Courts of the United States the jurisdiction in respect to all cases arising out of the intercourse of citizens of the United States with the Indians within the Indian country, to the exclusion of the courts of any State.

"But even if the right of jurisdiction claimed by the State of Georgia should be admitted, the teachers and missionaries are confident, as are your memorialists, that they have a right, so far as the authority of any State is concerned, to a quiet residence and prosecution of any lawful employment in the Cherokee Nation, according to that clause of the Constitution of the United States which declares that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.'

"With the stipulations and provisions of these treaties, and of the Intercourse Law of 1802 before them, with all the light that has been thrown on their meaning by a course of proceedings based upon them and continued

unvaried through more than forty years and under the direction of six different Presidents, the missionaries were confident, and your memorialists are confident, that they could not be mistaken in their conclusion, that the sole and exclusive jurisdiction over the Cherokee country is vested in the Cherokees; that while residing among said Cherokees they were amenable to no civil or military authority but that of the Cherokees, and that of the United States as specified in the treaties; and that all interference of the civil or military authorities of the State of Georgia, or of any other State would be a gross violation of their rights as citizens of the United States.

"But on the 12, 13, and 14 of March last, while relying on the protection vouchsafed to them by the Constitution of the United States, and by treaties, Mr. Isaac Proctor, Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, and Rev. John Thompson, teachers and missionaries at Carmel, New Echota and Hightower, were seized by a band of twenty-five armed men with no warrant of civil precept, separated from their families, and forcibly carried to a place called Camp Gilmer, the headquarters of what is called the Georgia Guard. After being detained at this place one day, two of them were taken before the Superior Court of the State of Georgia, then sitting in Gwinnett county, and there acquitted on the ground that the law of the State respecting white residents did not apply to those missionaries and teachers of the Board, who, having received patronage from the Government of the United States, were, in a sense, its agents. They were all set at liberty, and returned to the peaceful prosecution of their labors, after having been taken more than a hundred miles and kept a week absent from their families and under strict guard.

"On the 7 of May, Doctor Elizur Butler, superintendent of the school at Haweis was arrested and taken from his

house by a band of armed soldiers acting under the authority of the governor of Georgia, and after having been carried ten or twelve miles he was released.

"About the end of May, Messrs. Butrick, Proctor, Worcester, Butler and Thompson received letters from the governor of Georgia informing them that, if they did not remove within ten days they would again be arrested. A copy of the letter to Mr. Worcester is hereunto annexed; as also the replies of Mr. Worcester and Doctor Butler.

"On the 23 of June, Mr. Thompson was again arrested at Hightower; the circumstances of which are detailed in the letters of Miss Catherine Fuller, teacher at that station, and a letter of Mr. Thompson himself, which also accompany this. Your memorialists request your particular attention to the treatment which this female received from Colonel Nelson, the commander of the detachment who threatened the seizure of the mission house, and what was growing in the fields.

"On the 7 of July, Mr. Worcester and Doctor Butler were again arrested by armed soldiers acting under the orders of the governor of Georgia. The treatment which they received during the fifteen days that they were in the hands of the Georgia Guard, and the hardships and dangers to which they were exposed are detailed in a letter of Mr. Worcester which also accompanies this.

"All this the missionaries and teachers under the patronage of your memorialists have been made to suffer, while no crime was proved or charged upon them, than that of being where the government of the United States had authorized them to go, and of quietly prosecuting the work which they were in the same manner authorized to perform, and for which they have from year to year received the express approbation of the Executive of the United States. They have suffered this, also, your memorialists

would add, from a military force acting under the authority of the State of Georgia, in direct violation of that clause of the Constitution which forbids any State to keep troops in time of peace. By these troops their labors have been interrupted, their persons seized, insulted, chained, and abused, torn from their families in time of sickness, driven great distances on foot, their feelings outraged, their bodies incarcerated, held by military, the right of *habeas corpus* denied them, and they at length brought before the courts to which they were not amenable, and finally subjected to ignominious punishment in the penitentiary.

"Your memorialists would also further state, that the right of property has been invaded. Soldiers under the authority of the State of Georgia have forcibly ejected the occupants of the mission house at Hightower, erected and owned by your memorialists, and occupied it for quarters for themselves in direct violation of that clause of the Constitution which declares that 'no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner.' They have appropriated to their own use or destroyed the household furniture and other property, and appropriated for food or forage the corn and other vegetables which they found in the fields. They have also asserted a claim to the buildings, improvements and other property belonging to your memorialists at other stations, and threatened to eject the mission families.

"Having thus presented the grievances which the teachers and missionaries under the patronage of the Board are enduring, and the dangers to which their persons are exposed, your memorialists pray that the arm of the Executive may be interposed for their protection and deliverance; that they may be secured in the peaceful prosecution of their labors for the instruction of the Cherokees; that, as citizens of the United States, they may not be liable to

arrest, separation from their families and imprisonment by armed soldiers; that if charges are alleged against them, they may be brought to trial before impartial tribunal, competent to the jurisdiction of the case.

"Your memorialists would further pray that the Attorney General may be directed to commence a suit in the Courts of the United States against the offending officers of the State of Georgia for the false imprisonment, and other injurious treatment of the teachers and missionaries in violations of the treaties and laws of the Union, and of the rights at citizens of the same.

"And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"By order of the Board,

"WILLIAM REED,
"Chairman of the Prudential Committee of the American Board."

As a soldier, Andrew Jackson on the battlefield had the reputation of being a brave and fearless man. The American Board in the foregoing memorial brought clearly to his attention the violation of Indian treaties and of the Constitution of the United States.

The missionaries and the Cherokees did not find in President Jackson the fair-minded friend and supporter that they had found in his predecessors who had occupied the President's chair, as the following reply indicates:

"Department of War,
"November 14, 1831.

"SIR: I have received and submitted to the President the Memorial of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, transmitted in your letter of the 3 instant, and I am instructed by him to inform you, that having on mature consideration satisfied himself that the

Legislature of the respective States have power to extend their laws over all persons living within their boundaries, and that, when thus extended, the various acts of Congress, providing a mode of proceeding in cases of Indian intercourse, inconsistent with these laws, become inoperative, he has no authority to interfere, under the circumstances stated in the Memorial.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"LEWIS CASS."

"William Reed, Esquire, Chairman of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, Massachusetts."

The prison life did not discourage Drs. Worcester and Butler and make them downhearted. The following letter, one of many written while in the state penitentiary to David Green of the American Board, illustrates their good disposition:

"Penitentiary, Milledgeville, January 9, 1832.

"VERY DEAR SIR:

"Yours of December 3 and 12 have been some time on hand. When I received the first, I waited for the second, which you promised, and since that was received, it has not been convenient to acknowledge it till now. There are so many letters which I wish to write, that you will excuse a very hasty answer.

"It is sufficient on the principal subject of the letters to say that the views of the Committee and your own thoughts which you express accord entirely with Doctor Butler's feelings and my own, and that the expression of them at the time they were received was very seasonable.

"Mr. Chester was here on the 19 ult., and proceeded to

Washington to attend to our case. It seemed necessary that someone should go, and very desirable on several accounts that he should be the man. I gave him a draft on Mr. Hill for $300 to defray expenses. After he was gone, I feared that the draft was not worded with legal accuracy, but I trust if it is so it will not occasion any difficulty in regard to it.

"Be kind as to send us the *Missionary Herald*. Send immediately back numbers, including September. Direct to Charles G. Mills, Esquire, who is the principal keeper of the penitentiary. He will know for whom it is designed, and will not fail to hand it to us. You will be interested to know that he is a pious man, a member of the Presbyterian church, and disposed to show us all possible kindness.

"Yesterday morning—Sabbath—the prisoners all assembled together in one room that I might have opportunity to preach to them. This is to be the case every Sabbath. It is also the desire of Mr. Mills to have another service in the afternoon, whenever he can obtain some clergyman to come in and preach to us. He would have made the arrangement that I should preach twice each Sabbath, when there was no other preaching if I had desired, but I did not think it on the whole expedient to undertake more that one service.

"We still enjoy, as we trust, the presence of God, and are not cast down, but habitually cheerful. I would write more, but for the haste which I have already mentioned. Dr. Butler with me in very affectionate regards.

"I remain yours as ever,

"S. A. WORCESTER."

"Mr. David Green,
"Missionary Room,
"Boston."

On the twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-third of February, 1832, the cases of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester and Dr. Elizur Butler were brought by a writ of error before the Supreme Court of the United States, and were argued in their behalf by attorneys William Wirt and John Sargeant. No one appeared before the Court in behalf of the State of Georgia. On the third of March, Chief Justice John Marshall pronounced the decision of the Court in favor of the missionaries, declaring the laws of Georgia extending her jurisdiction over the Cherokee country to be repugnant to the Constitution, treaties and laws of the United States, and, therefore, null and void. The following mandate of the Court was immediately issued:

"Mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States. (L. S.) The President of the United States of America! To the honorable judge of the Superior Court for the County of Gwinnett in the State of Georgia.

"Greeting.

"Whereas lately in the Superior Court for the County of Gwinnett, in the State of Georgia, before you in a case between the State of Georgia, plaintiff, and Samuel A. Worcester, defendant on an indictment for residing in the Cherokee Nation, without license, the judgment of the said Superior Court was in the following words, viz: The defendant in this case shall be kept in close custody by the Sheriff of this County until he can be transported to the penitentiary of this State, and the keeper thereof is hereby directed to receive him in his custody and keep him at hard labor in said penitentiary for and during the term of four years, as by the inspection of the transcript of the record of the said Superior Court, which was brought into the Supreme Court of the United States by virtue of

a Writ of Error, agreeably to the act of Congress in such case made and provided, fully and at large appears. And, whereas, in the present term of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, the said cause came on to be heard before the said Supreme Court on the said transcript of the record and was argued by counsel, on consideration whereof, it is the opinion of this Court that the act of the legislature of the State of Georgia upon which the indictment in this case is founded, is contrary to the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and that the special plea in bar, pleaded by the said Samuel A. Worcester in the manner aforesaid, and relying upon the Constitution, treaties and laws of the United States aforesaid, is a good bar and defense to the said indictment by the said Samuel A. Worcester, and as such ought to have been allowed and admitted by the said Superior Court for the County of Gwinnett, in the State of Georgia, before which the said indictment was pending and tried, and that there was an error in the said Superior Court of the State of Georgia in overruling the plea so pleaded as aforesaid; It is therefore ordered and adjudged, that the judgment rendered in the premises by the said Superior Court of Georgia, upon the verdict upon the plea of not guilty afterwards pleaded by the said Samuel A. Worcester, whereby the said Samuel A. Worcester is sentenced to hard labor in the penitentiary of the State of Georgia, ought to be reversed and annulled, and this Court proceeding to render such judgment as the said Superior Court the State of Georgia should have rendered, it is further ordered and adjudged that the said judgment of the said Superior Court be, and the same is hereby reversed and annulled, and that the judgment be, and hereby is awarded that the special plea in bar so as aforesaid pleaded,

is a good and sufficient plea in bar in law to the indictment aforesaid, and that all proceedings on the said indictment do forever surcease, and that the said Samuel A. Worcester be, and hereby is, henceforth, dismissed therefrom, and that he go thereof, quit without day, and that a special mandate do go from this Court to the said Superior Court to carry this judgment into execution;

"You therefore are hereby commanded that such other proceedings be had in said cause in conformity with the judgment of said Supreme Court of the United States, as according to right and justice and the laws of the United States ought to be had, the said writ of error notwithstanding.

"Witness, the honorable John Marshall, Chief Justice of said Supreme Court, the second Monday of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

"WILLIAM THOMAS CARROLL,
"Clerk of the Supreme Court
of the United States."

On March 7, attorney Chester, supported by attorneys Underwood and General Harden, moved in the Superior Court of Georgia that the above mandate be received and recorded, and the prisoners discharged. The Court refused to obey the mandate. The next step for the attorneys was to carry a record of this refusal to the Supreme Court of the United States, which should then proceed to enforce its own decision. To prevent this procedure, the Superior Court refused to permit its own decision, or any matters relating to it, to be recorded. To supply this deficiency, for which the statutes had made no provision, Chester made an affidavit of these facts, which Judge Clayton cer-

tified, was sworn before him. Chester then applied by letter to the governor to discharge the prisoners, but he refused to answer in writing, saying, "You got around Clayton, but you shall not get around me!"

In the meantime, the Georgians proceeded to take possession of the Cherokee country. According to the law passed by the Georgia legislature, the Cherokee government was forbidden to act or to exist. Armed forces were dispatched with authority to arrest any members of the Cherokee National Council, if they should attempt to hold a meeting. The Cherokee lands were laid out and distributed by lottery according to the laws which had already been passed. October 22, 1832, the drawing actually commenced. Crowds of whites swarmed into the Nation to take possession of the Indian lands, even before the lottery was begun. Some of the white men were appointed justices of the peace and they seemed to derive extreme enjoyment in making a great display of the Georgia code. With the white men, came whiskey without restraint. Many of the Cherokees with hopes now gone gave up to intemperance and its kindred vices. Some who became thoroughly discouraged and disgusted moved to the West. In the early part of November, the Georgia legislature met. The governor's message to that lawmaking body reported satisfactory progress had been made in taking possession of the lands of the Cherokees, and the law was soon repealed which put the missionaries into prison. Dr. Worcester notified the governor and the attorney general on the twenty-eighth of November of his intentions to move the Supreme Court for further proceedings in their case at its session on the second of February, 1833.

The missionaries continued their work among the Indians as best they could. Even in Georgia, several of the

mission schools were continued through women teachers. Some of the men from Brainerd even ventured into the state to preach to the Indians, and John Huss, one of the early converts of Brainerd, a native Cherokee preacher, was daring enough to venture into Georgia on missionary duties.

The exciting events that had taken place as a consequence of Georgia's unconstitutional law had drawn the attention of politicians as well as the churches throughout the country. They became deeply incensed over the retention of the missionaries in prison regardless of the decision of the United States Supreme Court. Their case attracted national notice. The theory that a state has a right to declare a law of the United States unconstitutional and to prevent its execution within her limits had already become predominant in South Carolina where a convention which was called by the legislature that published an ordinance nullifying the existing revenue laws of the United States. South Carolina forbade the courts of the United States, their officers, and all other persons from attempting to enforce the law within her limits. That state, also, declared that if the general Government should attempt to enforce it, South Carolina would withdraw from the Union. Indeed, that state had already drafted men and provided military stores to sustain its ordinance by force, if necessary.

Men with keen visions believed that if the missionaries should persevere in their suit, and the Supreme Court of the United States should attempt to enforce its decision in their favor, that Georgia would join the nullifiers and that Alabama and Mississippi where unconstitutional laws had been enacted, would follow the example; then there would be four contiguous states leagued together to resist the

general Government by force. If President Jackson should sustain the Court, the example would strengthen the cause of South Carolina. However, it was clear that Georgia wished to support the President against the nullifiers but dared not do so while it seemed so likely that she, too, would soon find it to her advantage to join them.

These peculiar embarrassments had been foreseen ever since it was learned that Drs. Worcester and Butler could not be terrified and would not accept a pardon on the governor's terms. The governor sent them word that he intended to release them at some future time without committing himself to any particular date. He saw that it was necessary to free himself immediately from the impending difficulties when in November the missionaries served the notice of their intention to move the Supreme Court for further process. There was only one way for the governor to escape. That course was to induce Drs. Worcester and Butler to withdraw their suit. The governor and his friends became quite active. Politicians of yesteryears were just as shrewd as the most expert ones are to-day. Many leading politicians were dispatched to the penitentiary to interview them on the subject. Drs. Worcester and Butler were assured that if the suit were withdrawn that they would be unconditionally discharged immediately after the Supreme Court had adjourned. The Hon. John Forsyth called on Mr. Wirt, their attorney, and endeavored to persuade him to advise the missionaries to accept the governor's proposition. Mr. Forsyth assured Mr. Wirt that the prompt release of the two missionaries would be made following their announcement of their notice to drop the matter. Despite the fact, that he had been authorized by the governor of Georgia to give this assurance, he was

shrewd enough to state emphatically that he made the promise "unofficially"!

The Supreme Court had established the right of the Cherokee to protection by the President from the aggressions of Georgia, and a right of the President to discharge the missionaries from the penitentiary. It had become quite apparent that, even if President Jackson should interfere agreeably to the Court and release the missionaries, which was very doubtful, he would not execute the principles of that decision by protecting the Indians. When Andrew Jackson heard the decision of the Supreme Court in this case, it is claimed that he remarked, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it!"

The law which was enacted to put the missionaries in prison was repealed, and, if they could secure their release, the two men could return to their stations and resume their labors. After Dr. Butler and Dr. Worcester had discussed the matter, they decided that by withdrawing their suit that they would be able to regain all they could expect by prosecuting it, and in a much shorter time; and in all probability, save the country from whatever dangers there might be of a civil war with the nullifiers. Dr. Worcester immediately wrote to the American Board asking its advice, at the same time, stating his own and Dr. Butler's personal views on the dangerous situation of the nullifiers. On the subject of their imprisonment, the American Board through the Prudential Committee had done nothing except give the two men advice. On Christmas, 1832, the Committee discussed the subject freely. The prevailing opinion was that it was expedient for the missionaries to withdraw their suit. A letter was dispatched to them, and on January 8, 1833, Drs. Worcester and Butler wrote their counsels instructing them to make no motion in their be-

half in the Supreme Court, and to the Governor and Attorney General of Georgia informing them of the instruction they had given their counsel.

In the letter to the governor, Drs. Worcester and Butler added:

"We beg leave respectfully to state to your Excellency that we have not been led to the adoption of this measure by any change of views with regard to the principles on which we have acted; or by any doubt of the justice of our cause, or of our perfect right to a legal discharge in accordance with the Supreme Court in our favor already given; but by the apprehension that the further prosecution of the controversy, under existing circumstances, might be attended with consequences injurious to our beloved country."

The governor thought this was disrespectful to the authorities of the state, and expressed a desire to have them write again, disclaiming any disrespectful intention. Accordingly, the next day they wrote:

"We are sorry to be informed that some expressions in our communication of yesterday were regarded by your Excellency as an indignity offered the State authorities. Nothing could be further from our design. In the course we have now taken, it has been our intention simply to forbear the prosecution of our case, and leave the continuance of our confinement to the magnanimity of the State."

The governor accepted this letter as satisfactory, but at the moment a newspaper article was published, written by one of his political opponents, which caused him to postpone action a few days to demonstrate to his constituents that he was not being compelled to take this course!

On January 14, 1833, Drs. Worcester and Butler were

released. The governor, Wilson Lumpkin, did not send a written discharge, but issued a proclamation in which he declared that the missionaries had appealed to the magnanimity of the state and, as a consequence, they had been given their freedom.

However, their release from the Georgia State penitentiary did not end their prosecutions by the Georgia officers. At the Haweis Mission, near the present city of Rome, Dr. Butler was driven away, partly by force and partly by fraud. He returned to Brainerd in 1834. That same year the mission and grounds at New Echota were seized by the state authorities for a claimant under the lottery, and Dr. Worcester was forced again to move to Brainerd.

This ended one of the most spectacular legal cases that involved the conflict of state laws with the Constitution and treaties of the United States which brought out the failure of the President of the United States to enforce the observance of a decision of the Supreme Court by a state court. On the one hand, it discloses the magnanimity of the influence of the Christian religion; on the other, the boundless evil activities of men when dominated by greed.

CHAPTER XXI

MISSION NOTES

WHEN the missionaries were imprisoned in the Georgia penitentiary, the stations within the boundary of that state were put in charge of women missionaries and teachers from Brainerd. The excitement that followed the opening of the Cherokee lands by lottery brought a chaotic situation in Georgia and its disturbing influences were reflected in the missions in the adjoining states.

Miss Sophia Sawyer who had charge of the station at New Echota, made a vacation journey with Rev. Evan Jones, a prominent Baptist missionary who had been stationed among the Cherokee in the Valley Towns of East Tennessee near the North Carolina border. Miss Sawyer left the following description of her journey:

"August 9, 1832.

"I have been refreshed this vacation by a trip to the Valley Towns with Reverend Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary. He came here one week before the school closed with the intention of my returning with him. I most gladly accepted his proposals, and we left for the mountains the day the school closed. My mind needed just fatigue, danger and variety of scenery as was found in a journey over the mountains, rivers and valleys. We reached Judge Martin's the first night where we were detained by Mr. Jones's illness one day. After receiving no relief from medicine, Mr. Jones concluded to ride in hopes to find

advantage from the air and water on the mountains. Though Mrs. Martin's hospitality would have detained us, I willingly consented to try to make our way twenty miles over the mountains ere we could reach anything like the abode of man. We followed a winding path on the side of a mountain, and I was only relieved at intervals with anything like the appearance of a good road from the most painful anticipations of danger. On the left, the mountain rose almost in perpendicular height. On the right, I shuddered as my eye measured the distance below, and a glance at the narrow pass, for the horse, to my fears, nearly realized a headlong plunge down the precipice. Mr. Jones, however, moved calmly and quietly forward bidding me follow. I was unwilling to increase his pain and burden, or make myself ridiculous by useless exclamations of the danger; I therefore passed in comparative silence until we reached the summit of the broad mountain and found room to walk or ride safely, and I realized, if I ever did, that 'in God we live, move, and have our being.' Mr. Jones, with truly Christian fortitude and meekness, struggled through the difficulties of the first day when he found relief, and we pursued our journey with safety and comfort until we reached the mission house in charge of Mr. Jones.

"Had I the power of description, I would place the enchanting scenery of that delightful part of the nation before you. As it is, I will tell what I can of the people. They had been waiting with anxiety to learn from Mr. Jones what return the delegation brought from Washington. When told that their rights could not be obtained, that no alternative remained to them as a nation but death or removal, they seemed not to hesitate saying, 'It is death anyhow; we may as well die here!'

"When told of the proposals of the government, they said, 'How can we trust them when they are breaking the most solemn treaties? Here are our homes, our firesides, our cultivated fields, our gardens of fruit.' To them this is a land that flows with milk and honey. They look at their wives, their little ones, the tottering old men and women; they cling to the graves of their fathers and say, 'Let us die with them. If we leave this country, these hills and valleys and this mountain air, we shall sicken and die. What can we have in exchange? Perhaps war on our arrival, or if we remain, a few years of peace, and cultivate the land, again the white man will trade our rights. Where can we find rest or protection?'

"The appointment for a fast was received in the Valley Towns with much interest. We have reason to hope, from the number present, that the interest manifested, that the day was observed, in some degree, as a fast that God has chosen. Though meetings were held in many places in the valleys, the people began to assemble at the mission house soon after sunrise, with all that apparent interest which a belief of the Bible could encourage them to expect from a proper keeping of a religious fast.

"When Mr. Jones was instructing two native preachers respecting the design and nature of the fast, after mentioning some of the national sins, the interpreter spoke of slavery as a crying sin, and said, 'If Providence does not favor a nation, it cannot prosper. God cannot be pleased with slavery.' After some discussion respecting the expediency of setting slaves at liberty, he said, 'I never heard tell of any hurt coming from doing right.' The people in this part of the nation have few slaves; are industrious and enterprising.

"I was highly pleased with Mr. Jones's manner of

giving instruction. It is delightful to hear the testimony which the people give to his instructions by the frequent appeals to the Bible to decide whether conduct is right or wrong. Meetings are held in many places among the mountains on the Sabbath and in the week, and the people seem to know the God they worship. Four persons were baptised while I was there, and among the number was an old man ninety years old. He walked twelve miles leaning on the staff of an aged man. The circumstances and relation of this aged man carried more conviction to my mind of the divine origin of the Christian religion than volumes on the subject."

A PERSECUTED CHEROKEE FAMILY

Many Cherokee families suffered bitter persecutions in Georgia following the enactment of the laws favorable to the whites and of extreme disadvantage to the Indians. The following brief extract from a journal kept by Daniel S. Butrick at the Candy's Creek Mission in Tennessee furnishes a good example:

"The history of Old Field here given, commences about the period when the troops of the United States, having been sent by the President to the borders of the Cherokee Nation for the purpose, as we supposed of preventing encroachments upon the Cherokees by the inhabitants of Georgia, were withdrawn, and the troops of the State of Georgia took their place. This family was compelled to remove from Hightower, which lies in that part of the nation claimed by Georgia, to the neighborhood of Candy's Creek, lying within the chartered limits of Tennessee. The history of this family is not unlike that of many others.

"August 1, 1832. Visited Old Field's family, from Hightower, with whom Peggy resides, who is a member of the church, and also mother of Old Field's wife. Old Field (this is his name, meaning a wornout field) has long been among the most respectable and influential Cherokees at Hightower. He was formerly captain of the Light Horse, and since the adoption of the new Cherokee Government, he has been a member of the national council. He and his family were industrious and had acquired a handsome property. He was a warm friend of John Ross, adhered strictly to his advice and resolved to keep his ground and suffer the consequences. When the United States troops were last in this country, a lieutenant told the Cherokees to bring him any Georgians who might be found in the country violating the intercourse law. Such were soon after found, and taken to the encampment, though then released. Old Field was one of the number who took them, and has lately been sued by them for false imprisonment, and had everything taken from him, except his clothing, and some articles of bedding, hid out in the woods. His cattle, horses, hogs, provisions, and the produce of the field, ripe and unripe, were all taken. His family still continuing in the house, his wife was threatened, taken, shut up, then dragged about with a rope around her neck until, at length, finding all their exertions to defend themselves failed, they resolved to leave the country. Peggy, probably 80 or 90 years old, lived with another daughter, whose husband was a white man. He had, as we understand, enrolled, and had all her property, or nearly all valued. This occasioned difficulty between them, in which, it is said, she struck him, and on that account, in order to avoid being taken by the Georgia officers, was obliged to flee to the woods, and leave all she

had for an inhuman wretch to squander as he pleased. One night when the family of Old Field had to flee from the Georgians, the poor old woman attempted to follow but fell, and cut her arm so badly that the wound still remains unhealed. All these persons, with their little ones, are now within a mile of us, reduced in a day from what might be called affluence in this country, to complete beggary and want. Old Field was determined to maintain his ground in the defense of the rights of his country. This drew the attention of those who wanted the country and excited, no doubt, their cruelty; so that if any one deserves commiseration for suffering in behalf of the Cherokees, it is, I think, this family. Yet I fear but few will regard their distress, even among those who urged the course which has occasioned it.

"August 9. With my wife and sister Catherine Fuller, I rode to Carmel. Here we learn that two members of the church have lately been drinking, and conducting themselves in a very shameful manner. The people generally seem to be sinking in dissipation. Stores of white men crowded with liquor are multiplying, and tempters are not wanting to draw all the poor Cherokees, old and young, into vice of almost every description.

"August 12. The situation of the Indian is now peculiarly dangerous. Their enemies in America have ever been ready to ascribe every failure of missionary exertions among them, to their nature, and some secret decree of heaven for their destruction, and the exertion of weak Christians have too often been paralyzed by such remarks. On the other hand, the Indians have seen nothing but avarice, fraud and cruelty in Americans, because the wicked have always been very officious, and kept as a bar between all good people and the Indians, so that the latter have

scarcely seen a virtuous man in his true character, and of course have considered all as traitors. For a few years past the wicked have seemed to step back, and Christians have come forward, and found the Indians generally kind, ready to receive instruction and susceptible of every kind of improvement. But now the wicked are roused to action again, and seem determined to thrust every honest man from the heart and confidence of the Indians, and thus lead them to swear eternal enmity to religion, as well as to those who profess to be its followers. Thus, while good people are tempted to withhold their assistance, the Indians are tempted to detest all their offerings, and say, 'Bring no more vain oblations.' "

While Drs. Worcester and Butler were serving their sentences in the Georgia penitentiary, their Cherokee friends were greatly concerned over their persecutions, and not only sent them letters of sympathy and confidence, but sums of money were raised and forwarded to them. At one time a collection of thirty-eight dollars was taken for the missionary convicts, and the following Cherokee friends contributed, including two white men: Lewis Ross, five dollars; Joseph Vann, five dollars; James Daniel, five dollars; John Ridge, five dollars; Richard Fields, five dollars; John Ross, one dollar; Elias Boudinot, one dollar; George M. Lavender, two dollars; John Martyn, four dollars; Captain David McNair, five dollars.

IMPROVEMENT AMONG THE FULL BLOODS

Even during the days of the missionaries among the Cherokees, there were many people who claimed, as is asserted to-day, that the advance in civilization was confined to those of mixed blood, and to those who were

residing on the public roads where they came in contact with white men. In the following extract from a letter from Rev. Chamberlain, who had charge of the station at Haweis, near Rome, Georgia, facts are given concerning the full bloods who lived in the heart of the Indian population but retired from the public highways:

"I held a meeting last Sabbath in one of these neighborhoods. It was at the house of Jesse about twenty-four miles from this place. I had never been there before, and was myself very much surprised to see the appearance of the people. Jesse and his wife are full Cherokees. His wife was sick and unable to do anything, and yet they had upwards of forty persons to feed from Saturday night until Monday morning; the table was covered with a clean white tablecloth and earthen plates, and knives and forks, arranged in a genteel manner, sufficient for twelve persons. The cups and saucers and coffeepot were placed at one end of the table and the food in clean platters at the other. Jesse himself took his seat at the end of the table and dealt out the food to each individual without embarrassment, and as his wife was sick, Mrs. Butler, who accompanied me to the meeting, took her seat at the head of the table and assisted him. The table, the furniture and the food were as good as could have been furnished at any of the mission stations; and although he had but one young female helping him, and but twelve persons could sit at the table at once, yet upwards of forty persons had breakfasted, the table was cleared and all put in order by eight o'clock. Some of the persons present did assist in waiting and bringing on the food after it was cooked.

"These, as I have remarked, are full-blood Cherokees, living several miles from any road, and but a very few

years ago were almost entirely destitute of household furniture or the knowledge of civilized manners.

"On Saturday evening John Huss preached, and on the Sabbath I preached to them. In the evening John Wayne addressed the people. Ten or twelve years ago I used occasionally to preach in that neighborhood, and but a few miles from where Jesse now lives. Then the people were sunk in deepest poverty and ignorance. Now those very people exhibit the marks of genuine piety, and its sure attendants, cleanliness, industry and civilization. I now feel greatly strengthened and encouraged to go forward. But still there are discouraging circumstances even there. A few will indulge in their depraved appetites by going to whiskey shops, set up by white intruders, and getting intoxicated. But their number is considerably lessened."

In a letter from Miss Sophia Sawyer, stationed at New Echota, she pictured the distressing condition that followed the entry of the whites into the Cherokee country of Georgia:

"New Echota, December 26, 1832.

"Whiskey has been brought to the playground and children invited to drink by men of our own color and country. The scholars have all as one refused. 'Taste not, touch not,' has been the law, and I have never had to enforce the penalty for disobedience. As it respects the parents, there have been many intemperate, all our efforts have hitherto been fruitless. My very soul sickens with the promise of the drunkard, and as to the retailer, it seems a still more hopeless case. We stand helpless by, and see as it were, the bread taken from children of the drunkard and their father receiving the poison—taking an 'enemy

into his mouth to suck out his brains.' Though we stood helplessly by, we have not stood silently. The cases have been so hopeless, that I believe affection for the children, first brought me to the miserable abode, then interest for the wretched man made me hope and believe his promises of amendment, until he began to justify the course of the drunkard, and repeat the draught while I was pleading with him to turn from the evil and live."

DEMORALIZING INFLUENCES OF THE WHITES

The demoralizing influence of the white settlers was felt throughout the missionary field in Georgia, as the following extract from the journal of Rev. J. B. Adams at Haweis Mission in Georgia, gives a glimpse of the situation:

"Haweis, April 15, 1833.

"This morning my interpreter and I crossed the Hightower River in a canoe, visited a number of families who cannot read, and are extremely ignorant, and then returned to fulfill our appointment. After preaching, I married a Cherokee couple in a Christian manner. The most of this was a novelty. All appeared cheerful. The occasion afforded a good opportunity to make a number of important remarks respecting marriage.

"After this we travelled twenty-three miles. The men at the house where we stayed were drunk. One of them threatened to kill my interpreter, because he alleged he 'followed the preachers about, persuading the people to go to Arkansas.' We, therefore, retired to the woods and slept comfortably there.

"April 17. Went to Hickory Log Town, which is east of Haweis. While preaching in the house of a Cherokee,

this evening, six white men came and sat with their hats on till after service. Then they invited me out, and informed me that they were sent to arrest and bring me before officers of the Georgia Guard. Their object was to alarm me. When they ascertained that they could not succeed, they withdrew. Such is the hatred existing in this quarter to missionaries! At this town there is a large number of interesting youths who generally talk English and greatly need a school."

The disturbances that had been felt throughout the missionary territory were reflected in the attendance at the meetings held at various stations. The congregation at Brainerd, the parent institution, varied from twenty to a hundred; at Willstown, from a hundred to three hundred; at Haweis from thirty to two hundred; at Candy's Creek from thirty to a hundred. Between Haweis and Willstown a meeting was held in the dense woodlands which was attended by a half thousand Cherokees. Out of the lot, more than a hundred signed a temperance pledge.

At that date, conservative estimates placed the number of Cherokees at sixteen thousand, out of which it was claimed fully half of the adults could read their own language with more or less fluency.

CHAPTER XXII

SIGNING THE REMOVAL TREATY

THE condition in Georgia was so unsettled that one by one the missionaries were forced to remove from that state into Tennessee, where they could work without interruption. Brainerd and Candy's Creek received the missionaries, and many Cherokee families also removed into Tennessee.

In September, 1833, Rev. Isaac Proctor, who, after the arrest of the missionaries in Georgia, had labored zealously at a new station called Amohee, near Candy's Creek, removed his family to Indiana. The embarrassing state of the mission and the uncertainty of its future, induced him to leave the missionary service.

During the autumn of 1833, the person who, under the laws of the State of Georgia, claimed the land on which the buildings and improvements at Haweis was situated, demanded of Dr. Elizur Butler immediate possession, and threatened forcibly to eject him and his family. As there was an Indian field on the same lot, Dr. Butler supposed the law gave the drawer no title to take possession until the Indian title should be extinguished. The claimant proceeded to appropriate to his own use the building occupied for a schoolhouse and a place of worship, and also one or two of the best rooms in the dwelling house, together with the stables and other improvements. The Cherokee who owned the adjoining property to the mis-

sion lands could not read or write the English language. He was induced to sign a paper of very different meaning to that which he believed he was signing, and the poor Indian lost his property. The claimant thus through fraud extinguished the Indian title, and the premises were appraised and delivered over to him by the authorities of Georgia. The buildings and improvements were worth about twelve hundred dollars. The mission family removed to Brainerd, and Dr. Butler was given permission to visit his parents in Massachusetts.

Under similar circumstances, Dr. Worcester and his family were forced to remove from New Echota in March of the same year. They, too, went back to Brainerd. However, Miss Sophia Sawyer continued her school at Haweis until July when she removed to the residence of John Ridge, near Running Water, the present site of Hale's Bar on the Tennessee. Mrs. Ard Hoyt and her daughter Anna removed from Willstown to the State of Ohio.

The official notice that was delivered to Dr. Worcester forcing him to leave New Echota was as follows:

"SIR: It becomes my duty to give you notice to evacuate the lot of Land No. 125 in the 14th district of the 3d section, and to give the houses now occupied by you to Colonel William Harding, or whoever he may put forward to take possession of the same; and that you may have ample time to prepare for the same, I will allow you until the 28th of this month to do the same.

"Given under my hand this the 15th of February, 1824.

"WILLAM SPRINGER,

"Agent for the Cherokees in Georgia."

After Dr. Worcester removed to Brainerd, he sent the following letter to the American Board:

"I have at length the satisfaction to inform you that a teacher is employed and has now been engaged in teaching for several weeks. This is but the beginning of his labors, and I cannot tell what will be the result. He is a Cherokee, who neither reads nor speaks English, but reads only his native tongue. He is an elder in one of our churches and has a good degree of zeal, which we trust proceeds from true faith in the Lord Jesus, and love to his cause. In regard to his qualifications for teaching I cannot speak with great confidence. I have not had much personal acquaintance with him. I can tell more, probably, hereafter. Hitherto he has taken a circuit of about seventy-five miles, and taught in about a dozen places on the way. I have received only an imperfect report of the number of his pupils. At eight places, however, he has had about 120 learners in all; and he states that he finds much desire for learning to read prevailing, and expects an increase of the number of scholars where he has been. He intends also to enlarge his circuit. I have instructed him to keep an accurate account of the number of scholars in every place and report to me. He has a family, and perhaps on that account will not spend quite the whole of his time in itinerating.

"There is another person about entering to some extent upon the same kind of labor. It is Mr. John Huss, who speaks only the Cherokee language, and who is employed by the Board as a missionary among his own people. The name of the one first mentioned is Jesse. I believe he has no surname. Surnames are not common among the Indians, except as they are learning them from the whites."

FROM CREEK PATH

Miss Erminia Nash, a teacher at the Creek Path Mission at what is now Guntersville, Alabama, reported a very

pathetic case of one of the Indian girl students there, as follows:

"Julia Stooping-tree was received into the school at Creek Path about Christmas, 1831. She was brought from Willstown by her uncle, Sleeping Rabbit, with whom she lived after the death of her parents. She was so lame in consequence of a fever-sore of long standing that she could walk very little without crutches. Her health was delicate. Her mind was very dark and ignorant, but she manifested the most anxious desire for every kind of useful knowledge that was placed within her reach. She possessed a most lovely disposition and was uniformly attentive to our wishes as far as she understood them. She was peculiarly anxious for religious instruction, and after her health became so poor as to confine her to the house, would plead with tears in her eyes to go to meeting and Sabbath School. Hardly anything grieved her so much as to be obliged to stay away from these places. In the month of March the influenza prevailed here and most of the family were afflicted with it, including poor Julia.

"While she was much afflicted, her uncle, Sleeping Rabbit, came to see her. She pleaded to go home. When her friends yielded to her solicitations, Sleeping Rabbit took her before him on horseback on a pillow, supporting her in his arms, while her aunt led the horse. The next day, when they were about half way home, they laid her down to rest on the bank of a creek, but she never rose again. She died without gaining the object she had so earnestly sought,—the sight of home, and a grave by the graves of those she loved. She was probably about ten years old."

The memory of Catherine Brown was ever a sweet treasure for the missionaries who knew her well. After Catherine had been dead for several years, we find the

following entry in the Creek Path journal for June 10, 1834:

"Visited the grave of Catherine Brown. The house which her father built is now occupied by a white family. The little cabin which was that sweet girl's Bethel is thrown down, and many other changes have taken place. But still I love that spot, and I love to go there and stand by the wooden paling which surrounds her grave, and meditate upon her virtues."

STEPHEN FOREMAN

Among the native Cherokee preachers, Mr. Stephen Foreman was one who was highly regarded and who was employed by the American Board. This Indian of mixed blood received the elements of his education at the mission school at Candy's Creek. He studied later under Dr. Worcester and had the advantage of being brought up in a family where both the Cherokee and English languages were spoken. In such families, it was the usual custom for the males to speak English and the females Cherokee. Oddly enough, the females often refused to speak English at all. Mr. Foreman at first refused to use the language of his own people until he had been convinced that it was his duty to do so to enable him to become an interpreter for the missionaries. His educational advantages were greater than some of the other Cherokees, for he studied theology at Union and Princeton Theological Seminaries for two years. He was a personal friend of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester. Mr. Foreman in the following letter gives an account of some of his labors:

"I commenced preaching about the first of October, 1833, a short time after I was licensed. During the ensuing winter and spring, I was in the lower part of the nation

teaching Cherokee schools. Most of the time I was at either one or the other of the stations of Haweis, New Echota, or Creek Path. While at Haweis I taught a Cherokee school, in which I prepared Jesse, an active member of that church, for teaching a similar school in which he is now very actively engaged. I commenced a similar school at Creek Path, but for the want of a competent teacher, it has since fallen through. What time I spent at New Echota, I was chiefly engaged in correcting a tract which I had translated into Cherokee.

"Early in January, 1834, I came into the neighborhood of Candy's Creek. Here and at Brainerd I preached during the months of January and February and the former part of March. The latter part of March and the whole of April, I preached at Raccoon-town, Willstown and Creek Path. Since May my labors have been almost entirely confined to Candy's Creek and vicinity. When, however, there has been a communion season at Brainerd, I have made it my business to attend. I spent a couple of weeks also last summer with Dr. Worcester in visiting the members of the Brainerd church. These are the only times, I believe, that I have been absent from this neighborhood during the last summer. In September last for the first time I visited the Valley Towns. Mr. Evan Jones and the Cherokee members of the church gave me a cordial welcome. When I first arrived they all stared at me as if some *yo-wi-ne-gu* had come, but as soon as those with whom I was acquainted came and shook hands with me, they mistrusted who I was, and immediately one after another began to leave their seats until the whole congregation had left their seats and shaken hands with me. A camp-meeting was holding near Mr. Jones's, and the morning I arrived, they had assembled for worship. I returned from the Valley

Towns about the first of October, and here I have remained and preached nearly every Sabbath since.

"This hasty sketch will give a view of the manner in which I have spent my time since I have been in service of the American Board. During all this time, not including exhortations, addresses, nor sermons extempore, I have preached in all, sixty sermons. Thirty-five times I have preached at Candy's Creek; eight times at Brainerd; twice at Willstown; five times at Creek Path; five times at Haweis and vicinity; once at Carmel; once at New Town, and three times at the Valley Towns."

The latter part of the year 1834 found all of the missions in Georgia abandoned, except the station at Carmel in charge of Daniel S. Butrick, who on December 6, 1834, reported the result of his labors from which the following extract is taken:

"I do not recollect attending a more interesting meeting at this place than we had on the last Sabbath, both as respects numbers and a happy state of feeling. The house was crowded with Cherokees, many coming from twenty, thirty, forty, and some fifty miles away. Mr. Stephen Foreman preached, and brother Epenetus also had a very interesting meeting towards evening. The eclipse of the sun, which was nearly total at the time of administering the Lord's supper, added to the solemnity of the scene. Three Cherokees from Cabintown, about twenty miles distant, expected to unite with the church. Two of these were men who had two wives, and the third was a wife of one of them. One of them requested information some time ago on the subject of having two wives, but I told him he had better devote his heart entirely to God, and then he would be able more clearly to understand the propriety of the requisitions of the Gospel. I requested Mr. Fore-

man to take the Bible and instruct them on the subject of matrimony,—the duties of husband and wife, and the reason why we supposed the man should retain only the wife he had lived with the longest, in case he had two when he became a Christian. We then advised them to defer uniting with the church until they could well consider the important subject before them, consult their wives, and regulate their domestic concerns. To this they readily assented."

DR. WORCESTER MOVES WEST

After months of persecution by the Georgia authorities, and later on with the foresight of a prophet, Dr. Samuel A. Worcester realized that the days of the Cherokees had before them in their own country were few. In April, 1835, Dr. Worcester took the printing press and removed to the West, stopping at the mission at Dwight, Arkansas, and there he began his preparations for printing Cherokee literature not only for the Cherokees who were already living in that territory, but in getting ready for those who were to follow soon.

THE FINAL TREATY

The Cherokees had frequently solemnly affirmed that they would never voluntarily give their consent to leaving their native soil, when various attempts had been made by the United States Government to negotiate for their removal West, that the white men might come into possession of their lands.

After repeated failures to secure the Indians' approval of a proposed treaty, often in an unfair manner, by holding out inducements to some and threats to others, a treaty was drawn up and signed at New Echota, Georgia, De-

cember 29, 1835. By it, the Cherokee Nation ceded all of its lands lying east of the Mississippi in consideration of five million dollars, and a common joint interest in the country that was then occupied by the Cherokees who had already moved to the West. According to a report made by the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn who had been appointed by the United States as one of the treaty commissioners, out of the Cherokee's population of sixteen thousand, there were less than five hundred Indian men, women and children present at New Echota when the treaty was executed. It was signed in behalf of the United States Government by Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn and Governor William Carroll of Tennessee. The latter, however, was unable to be present on account of illness. The instrument was signed in behalf of the Cherokee Nation by twenty Indians, the most prominent among them being Major Ridge and Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix,* the Indian's newspaper which had been suppressed that year. Neither Chief John Ross nor a single officer of the Cherokee Nation was represented at the meeting.

Despite the protests of John Ross and the national delegates, the treaty was ratified by a single vote above the necessary number.

This removal treaty was in keeping with the many other unfair acts of the Federal Government in dealing with the Cherokees. The unofficial signatures that were affixed to the treaty were executed not by Indians who were really in favor of it, but who had become wearied and disgusted with the constant annoyance of the whites, the State of Georgia and the Federal Government to gain possession of the Cherokee property regardless of the em-

ployment of honest principles in obtaining it. These Indians had abandoned hope of ever succeeding in their fight for the retention of their residence within their own native country in the East United States. Turmoil, strife, and possibly bloodshed were the only reward, as far as they could see, that would be their lot if they remained.

The political disturbances brought on by this treaty set the Cherokee Nation in a turmoil which impeded the progress of the work of the missionaries, but the results of their efforts yielded some fruit. In 1836, the station at Carmel was closed and its church members transferred their membership to Brainerd. The school at Running Water, near Hale's Bar, on the Tennessee was closed on the first day of March the same year the boarding school at Brainerd, the parent institution, was also closed, but at the urgent solicitation of the people, Mrs. Butrick reopened a school there for the summer. Perhaps the most effective work was done that year by the native Cherokee teachers. Jesse, who was an itinerant teacher at Candy's Creek, had four hundred and forty scholars under his charge. The restless and ambitious missionaries must have something to do, and so Dr. Elizur Butler opened a new station at Red Clay, just across the Tennessee border. Dr. Butler made the following report of the work that was being done in that locality:

"Jesse had fourteen schools last summer and I visited six of them. These are extended over a section of country about fifty miles long and twelve to fifteen miles wide. He performed his circuit and visited each school once in three weeks. According to the names rendered me he had in his school pupils whose ages ranged from eight years to sixty years. Seventy-seven of this number he called

good readers. I have heard many of them read apparently as fluently as he does. He supposes that about seventy good readers had then left his schools, having read through the books published in the Cherokee language. The schools I visited were very orderly and attentive. Most of the scholars were intent on their lessons. Jesse prays and sings with his scholars, and so far as he is capable, gives them religious instruction.

"Jesse has now enlarged his number of schools to seventeen. These he visits once in three weeks. A neighborhood twelve miles from this place has recently erected a comfortable house for him to teach in, and hold his meetings connected with his schools; and another neighborhood seven miles from here is following their example. Jesse is anxious to have me procure an interpreter and ride with him. This would be a large field for usefulness, if I could occupy it.

"There are forty Cherokee families within about three miles of us, who would esteem it a privilege at any time to receive friendly visits from us. The number of children I have not yet ascertained, but there must be enough for a large school. We wish, if possible, to be in a situation to have religious visits made frequently by the female members of the family."

By the final treaty executed at New Echota, the Government agreed to allow six hundred and fifty thousand dollars to bear the expense of the Indians' removal to the West and for sustaining them a year after their arrival in their new country. The buildings and improvements belonging to the missions were to be appraised and paid for in the same way as the Cherokees' property, and the Cherokees were to designate missionaries and their assistants whom they desired to accompany them on the long and

hazardous journey West, whose expenses were to be borne from the public funds which were allowed the Cherokees, although they had been robbed of everything before leaving!

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CLOSING DAYS

THE entire Cherokee Nation was in a state of restlessness. Nine-tenths of the Cherokees flatly declined to recognize the treaty signed at New Echota, and while they planned to offer no resistance, if its provisions were forced upon them, they affirmed that they would never voluntarily give their assent to it.

The Cherokee church members were daily assaulted, usually as a result of the sale and distribution of whiskey by the whites among the disheartened Indians. Many of their families were forced to move, which weakened almost every organized church among them. However, by the addition of some members from one of the churches that was closed, in 1837, the membership of Brainerd church amounted to one hundred and ten. The entire Nation had its thoughts fixed on political subjects, and this had its influence on further enfeebling the churches within the borders. The aggregate number of pupils in the schools was also reduced to about three hundred.

Jesse, the Cherokee itinerant teacher who had been so successful in his labors in the vicinity of Candy's Creek in 1837, was swindled out of his property by a worthless white man. In his despondent state of mind that followed, Jesse yielded to the temptation tendered by a white man, and went on a drunken spree. Despite the fact that this

was his only misdeed of the kind, his misconduct became generally known, and his schools were closed.

There was never a greater opportunity to judge the salutary effects of the religious education that had been given by the missionaries to the Cherokees than by observing their conduct displayed at the great council held at Red Clay, July 31, 1837, when they flatly rejected the New Echota treaty.

Every morning worship was held in the council house, and the Indians listened to a sermon every evening. On Sunday, three religious services were conducted, each of which was largely attended. About four thousand assembled for the exercises. In that vast audience, there were only about three cases of disturbances, and in each instance the vigilant Cherokee officers were compelled to arrest a trifling white smuggler of whiskey.

Religious exercises were conducted by Rev. Daniel S. Butrick, of Brainerd, and his sermons were interpreted by Jesse Bushyhead, an honored and respected native Cherokee preacher. Of these meetings and of the behavior of the Cherokees at the council meetings, a visitor who was not a missionary described them as follows:

"Preaching has been regularly held at the council-house every evening, unless prevented by inclement weather, and prayer-meeting at the same place is held every morning. These meetings have been well attended and the profound and solemn attention given by the Cherokees, strongly evinced that they felt themselves in the presence of Him who searcheth the heart. On Sunday, a discourse was delivered from the chief's stand, in English by the Reverend Evan Jones, Baptist missionary, interpreted by Jesse Bushyhead, a native preacher. Bushyhead is a large, noble-looking man, and the best interpreter in the nation.

He was all life and eloquence in interpreting, his actions increased with the life of the discourse, his gestures were elegant and forcible.

"One circumstance in particular struck my attention,—the interesting and correct manner in which the music was conducted. Their hymns were all in Cherokee, the music was the common tunes we are accustomed to in our churches, and was performed with far more correctness, as regards time, enunciation and effect, than what is found among the white congregations South and West. It was easy to imagine that the tunes were learned from the missionaries. But although I discovered that the different parts were sung, that a Cherokee sitting beside me, sang a very good bass, I had no idea that music had been taught them as a science. On Monday, during a fall of rain, while passing through the camp, my attention was drawn by some strains of music proceeding from a small shed. On approaching, I found some six or eight Cherokees sitting round a rude table with their singing-books before them, practicing upon some tunes, which were new to most of them—one more expert than the rest, acting the part of a teacher. I joined them in their happy amusement, and, while singing with these real sons of the forest, I was forcibly reminded of the prophecy of Isaiah, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice even with joy and singing."

Despite every official effort made by the Cherokee Nation to remain on its own land, it was clear that the President was determined to carry into effect the treaty of New Echota.

The work of the Brainerd Mission and at the other stations was greatly disturbed by the exciting conditions that followed. At Candy's Creek Mission where many Cher-

okee families were now living, Walker, the native Cherokee teacher, continued to carry on his schools alone, after Jesse's misconduct. Of Walker's labors, Dr. Elizur Butler on January 8, 1838, wrote from Red Clay:

"He has had from ten to one hundred and thirty scholars. Some schools have been discontinued because the scholars have learned to read as well as their teacher, and several others have been broken up by removals to the West. A few weeks since I visited one of his schools with an interpreter, without having made any previous appointment. I found collected some twenty-five or thirty pupils, of whom the most were adults. In this neighborhood labor had never been suspended on the Sabbath until, perhaps, two weeks before I visited it, when it was done by the influence of the leading man, or rather by the influence of the Spirit on his mind, and on the minds of others. This outward reformation commenced soon after Walker opened a school in the neighborhood. Neither Walker's energy or influence is as great as was Jesse's. Yet I believe he has done good, and is still doing good. But our books are all disposed of, and necessity will compel us soon to relinquish the schools for want of them. If we had books, a large school might be obtained among the Creeks, a number of whom live within a few miles of us. They are learning to talk Cherokee, and might learn to read the language without much difficulty.

"I was very much struck some months ago at what occurred on the death bed of a young Creek man. Soon after he was dead, a decoction of herbs was prepared, and the dead body was washed with it; after which all who lodged in the same tent were required to wash their faces in the remainder of the decoction. One or two declined doing it, when some of the water was sprinkled on them,

and the tent was also sprinkled with the same. When the body was laid out, it was placed on its back, and the knees raised so as to draw up the limbs and have the feet in the same position on the ground as they would be if the body were erect. In this position the body was buried with the clothes and the bedding of the young man. The grave was so shallow that the knees, which were much higher than the body, were barely covered with earth."

PREPARATION FOR REMOVING WEST

The preparations for the removal of the Cherokee to the West went forward. During the winter, many soldiers were marched into the Cherokee country, and in the spring of 1838, General Winfield Scott was dispatched to the Indian lands and put in command of the United States troops. On his arrival, General Scott issued a proclamation, urging the Indians to yield peacefully without resistance and thus give him no occasion to cause bloodshed. May 23, 1838, was the day appointed for the removal to take place.

Immediately following that date, in small detachments the army moved on to family after family of Cherokees, made prisoners of them and marched them into camp. Of the excitement that followed, Mr. Evan Jones wrote on May 21:

"Our minds of late, have been in a state of intense anxiety and agitation. The major-general has arrived, and issued his summons, declaring that every man, woman and child of the Cherokees must be on their way to the West before another moon shall pass. The troops, by the thousands, are assembling around the devoted victims. The Cherokees, in the meantime, apprized of all that is doing, wait the result of these terrific preparations, with feelings

not to be described. Wednesday, May 16, was appointed as a day of solemn prayer.

"Camp Hetzel, near Cleveland, Tennessee, June 16. The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses and encamped at the forts and military posts, all over the nation. In Georgia, especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take anything with them except the clothes they had on. Well-furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers, who like hungry wolves, follow in the train of the captors. These wretches rifle the houses, and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth. Females, who have been habituated to comforts and comparative affluence, are driven on foot before the bayonets of brutal men. Their feelings are mortified by vulgar and profane vociferations. It is a painful sight. The property of many has been taken, and sold before their eyes for almost nothing—the sellers and buyers, in many cases, being combined to cheat the poor Indians. These things are done at the instant of arrest and consternation, the soldiers standing by with their arms in hand, impatient to go with their work, could give little time to transact business. The poor captive, in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified children, without a friend to speak a consoling word, is in a poor condition to make a good disposition of his property, and is in most cases stripped of the whole, at one blow. Many of the Cherokees, who were a few days ago, in comfortable circumstances, are now victims of abject poverty. Some, who have been allowed to return home, under passport, to inquire after their property, have found their cattle, horses, swine, farming tools, and house furniture all gone. And this is not a description of extreme cases. It is altogether

a faint representation of the work which has been perpetuated on the unoffending, unarmed and unresisting Cherokees.

"Our brother, Jesse Bushyhead, and his family, Reverend Stephen Foreman, native missionary of the American Board, the speaker of the National Council and several men of character and respectability, with their families, are here prisoners.

"It is due to justice to say, that, at this station, the officer in command treats his prisoners with great respect and indulgence. But fault rests somewhere. They are prisoners without a crime to justify the fact.

"These savages, prisoners of Christians, are now all hands busy, some cutting, and some carrying posts and plates, and rafters, some digging holes for posts, and some preparing seats for a temporary place for preaching to-morrow. There will also be preaching at another camp, eight miles distant. We have not heard from our brethren in the mountains since their capture. My last accounts from them were truly cheering. In a few days they expected the victorious army to sweep them into their forts. Brother Oganaya wrote me, May 27, that seven were baptized at Taquohee on that day. He says, 'If it shall be peace, we intend to meet at this place on the second Saturday. We are in great trouble. It is said, that on Monday next we are to be arrested, and I suppose it is true. Many are greatly terrified.'

"The principal Cherokees have sent a petition to General Scott, begging most earnestly that they not be sent off to the West till the sickly season is over. They have not received any answer yet. The agent is shipping them off by the multitudes from Ross's Landing. Nine hundred in one detachment, and seven hundred in another were driven

into boats, and it will be a miracle if one-fourth escape the exposure to that sickly climate. They were exceedingly depressed, and almost in despair.

"July 10. The work of war in time of peace is commenced in the Georgia part of the Cherokee Nation, and is carried on, in most cases, in the most unfeeling and brutal manner; no regard being paid to the orders of the commanding general in regard to humane treatment of the Indians. I have heard of only one officer in Georgia who manifests anything like humanity in his treatment of this persecuted people.

"The work of capturing being completed and several thousand already sent off, General Scott has agreed to suspend further transportation of the captives until later on in the fall. This arrangement, though but a small favor, diffused universal joy through the camps of the prisoners.

"July 11. I have omitted till now to say that as soon as General Scott agreed to suspend the transportation of the prisoners till autumn, I accompanied brother Bushyhead, who, by permission of the General, carried a message from the chiefs to those Cherokees who had evaded the troops by flight to the mountains. We had no difficulty in finding them. They all agreed to come in, on our advice, and surrender themselves to the forces of the United States, though with the whole nation, they are still as strenuously opposed to the treaty as ever. Their submission, therefore, is not to be viewed as an acquiescence in the principles of the terms of the treaty, but merely as yielding to the physical force of the United States.

"On our way we met a detachment of 1,300 prisoners. As I took some of them by the hand, the tears gushed from their eyes. Their hearts, however, were cheered to see us and to hear the word of consolation. Many members of the

church were among them. At Fort Butler, we found a company of 300 just arrived from the mountains, on their way to the general depot at the Agency."

THE FOUNDING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA RESERVATION

The brutal methods employed by some of the United States soldiers, as described by Rev. Evan Jones in the foregoing narrative, brought at least one combat between a Cherokee family and the soldiers, the aftermath of which is reflected to-day in the existence of the Cherokee Indian Reservation of Western North Carolina.

An old Indian by the name of Charley, or Tsali and his family, consisting of his wife, a brother, and his three sons and their families, were seized by the soldiers and started on a march to the stockade. Charley's wife was unable to walk very fast, whereupon the soldiers frequently prodded the old woman with bayonets. Tired of witnessing this cruelty, Charley suggested to the members of his family that they make their escape. The soldiers did not understand the Cherokee language, and although the plot was planned in their presence, they knew nothing about it. Instantly each of the soldiers was seized by a Cherokee who endeavored to wrest the gun from him. In the struggle, one of the guns was discharged and a soldier killed. The others fled, and the Indians escaped to the mountains of North Carolina.

It was a hopeless task for General Scott to try to locate them, but in order that they might be punished, he sent a proposition to Utsali, the chief of the fugitive Indians living in the mountains, if he would surrender old Charley and his family to punishment, the soldiers would cease seeking them, and an effort would be made to secure per-

mission for them to remain in the mountains where they were now living.

When William H. Thomas, an honored and honest Indian trader in whom the Cherokees had the utmost confidence, presented General Scott's proposition to Utsali, it was quite difficult for the old chief to agree to it, for he had no kindly feeling for the American troops since his own wife and little boy had starved to death in escaping the soldiers.

Charley and his family were hiding in a cave in the Smoky Mountains. When Mr. Thomas found him and presented the proposition to him, the old Indian said, 'I will come in. I don't want to be hunted by my own people.' After his surrender, General Scott ordered Charley, his brother and his two elder sons shot. They were executed near the mouth of the Tuckasegee River. A detachment of Cherokee prisoners was forced to do the shooting, simply to impress deeply upon them the Cherokees' helplessness in the hands of the United States army!

Thomas was determined, if possible, to gain for his refugee Indian friends the reward that General Scott had promised. From that time until 1842 he worked faithfully at Washington before he succeeded in securing permission for them to remain in the mountains of North Carolina. With their share of funds allowed them by the Government, lands were purchased that brought into existence the Indian Reservation in the North Carolina mountains.

BRAINERD MISSION CLOSES

It was a solemn occasion for the sincere crowd of people who gathered for the last time on Sunday, August

19, 1838, at Brainerd. A little more than twenty-one years had passed since Cyrus Kingsbury opened the mission and school at that place. Its activities were now over forever. There was the little cemetery near-by that held in its confines the remains of many of their loved ones. There were the buildings that were soon to be gaping vainly for occupants. There they had labored faithfully and unselfishly. The church house in which they had worshiped so long had to be left behind. The Cherokees with whom they had labored earnestly were almost ready to bid farewell to the land which they so passionately loved, soon to be occupied by the race which had so persistently pressed upon them for many decades.

The future was an unknown and unopened book. Although some of the Cherokees had long been in the West, yet the average Indian family in the East knew little about it, and was not eager to change residences.

As the group of remaining members of the Brainerd church gathered about the communion table that Sunday to observe the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was joy mingled with a sorrow that inevitably follows when abandoning as sacred a place as Brainerd. This was the last meeting on Brainerd soil, for that day the Brainerd church disbanded, and the mission doors were closed forever.

THE REMOVAL WEST

After almost seventeen thousand Cherokees had been collected into various stockades, the stupendous task of removing them to the new country in the West began. At Hiwassee, near the present Calhoun, Tennessee, Ross's Landing, now Chattanooga, and Gunter's Landing, now Guntersville, Alabama, parties of Cherokees amounting

to five thousand souls were gathered the early part of June, placed on boats and transported to the west bank of the Mississippi. The journey was made in the hottest part of the year and resulted in much sickness and many deaths, as they traveled on foot from there to Indian Territory.

John Ross and other chiefs presented a resolution to General Scott asking permission for the Cherokees to remove themselves. This was agreed to, with the provision that all of them had begun the long journey before October 20. The Cherokee Council appointed officers to superintend the emigration. The Indians were formed into detachments of about a thousand each, and each in charge of two leaders, including horses and wagons. One of the companies was conducted by Rev. Evan Jones, the Baptist missionary, one by Stephen Foreman, native Cherokee preacher, of the American Board, one by Jesse Bushyhead, and another by Mr. Taylor, a member of the Brainerd church.

A number of the missonaries and teachers from Brainerd accompanied the Indians to the West. They rendered effective service in making the journey more enjoyable and more comfortable. Dr. Elizur Butler, who had served with Dr. Worcester in the Georgia penitentiary, was employed by the chiefs to serve as a physician in one of the detachments of emigrants. On October 10, 1838, Dr. Butler wrote from near McMinnville, Tennessee, that sickness prevailed among the Indians and that fully two thousand or more of them had died since the Cherokees were taken from their homes in June. Almost six months were consumed in making the long journey, during the coldest weather of the year, and more than four thousand deaths occurred.

Some of the members of the Brainerd Mission revived the education and religious work among the Cherokees in the West, but their activities in that new country belong to another epoch and are left to the pen of another historian.

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